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DR. CHALMERS.*

A short time after the appearance of the first volume of Dr. Chalmers's Life, we made it the subject of an article in this Magazine. The fourth and concluding volume of that Life has now been published; and we propose to continue our narrative from the point to which on the former occasion we conducted it.

We left Dr. Chalmers just entering upon his settlement in Glasgow; and we find the second volume of the Life wholly occupied with the period of his residence there.

The popularity as a preacher, which he obtained in Glasgow, was of a very extraordinary kind; and it was carried to its height when, a few months after the commencement of his ministry in that place, he delivered the first of a series of astronomical discourses. They were preached in the Tron church, on Thursdays, at intervals of two months.

"The spectacle which presented itself in the Trongate upon the day of the delivery of each new astronomical discourse, was a most singular one. Long ere the bell began to toll, a stream of people might be seen pouring through the passage which led into the Tron Church. Across the street, and immediately opposite to this passage, was the old reading room, where all the Glasgow merchants met. So soon, however, as the gathering, quickening stream upon the opposite side of the street gave the accustomed warning, out flowed the occupants of the coffee room; the pages of the Herald or the Courier were for a while forsaken; and during two of the best business hours of the day the old reading room wore a strange aspect of desolation. The busiest merchants of the city were wont indeed upon those memorable days to leave their desks; and kind masters allowed their clerks and apprentices to follow their example. Out of the very heart of the great tumult an hour or two stood redeemed for the highest exercises of the spirit; and the low traffic of earth forgotten, heaven and its high economy and its human sympathies and eternal interests, engrossed the mind at least and the fancy of congregated thousands."†

Dr. Wardlaw has supplied a graphic account of what happened in the inside of the church on these occasions.

"Suppose the congregation thus assembled—pews filled with sitters, and aisles, to a great extent, with standers. They wait in eager expectation. The preacher appears. The devotional exercises of praise and prayer having been gone through with unaffected simplicity and earnestness, the entire assembly set themselves for the *treat*, with feelings very diverse in kind, but

* Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D. By his Son-in-law, the Rev. William Hanna, LL.D. Vols. II., III. and IV. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable and Co. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co. 1850, 1851 and 1852.

† Life of Chalmers, Vol. II. p. 88.

all eager and intent. There is a hush of dead silence. The text is announced, and he begins. Every countenance is up—every eye bent, with fixed intentness, on the speaker. As he kindles, the interest grows. Every breath is held—every cough is suppressed—every fidgetty movement is settled—every one, rivetted himself by the spell of the impassioned and entrancing eloquence, knows how sensitively his neighbour will resent the very slightest disturbance. Then, by and bye, there is a pause. The speaker stops—to gather breath—to wipe his forehead—to adjust his gown, and purposely too, and wisely, to give the audience, as well as himself, a moment or two of relaxation. The moment is embraced — there is free breathing — suppressed coughs get vent—postures are changed—there is a universal stir, as of persons who could not have endured the constraint much longer—the preacher bends forward—his hand is raised—all is again hushed. The same stillness and strain of unrelaxed attention is repeated, more intent still, it may be, than before, as the interest of the subject and of the speaker advance. And so, for perhaps four or five times in the course of a sermon, there is the *relaxation* and the *at it again* till the final winding up."*

The *Astronomical Discourses* were published in January 1817. "In ten weeks, 6000 copies had been disposed of, the demand shewing no symptom of decline. Nine editions were called for within a year, and nearly 20,000 copies were in circulation. Never previously, nor ever since, has any volume of sermons met with such immediate and general acceptance. The *Tales of my Landlord* had a month's start in the date of publication, and even with such a competitor it ran an almost equal race. Not a few curious observers were struck with the novel competition, and watched with lively curiosity how the great Scottish preacher and the great Scottish novellist kept for a whole year so nearly abreast of one another." †

The last sentence reminds us of a comparison between Scott and Chalmers which appears in this Life as taken from the correspondence of Mrs. Grant of Laggan, and which we have no doubt conveys a just idea of the case with which it deals.

"Mary and I could not help observing certain similarities between these two extraordinary persons: the same quiet and unobtrusive humour; the same flow of rich, original conversation, easy, careless, and visibly unpremeditated; the same indulgence for others, and readiness to give attention and interest to any subject started by others. There was a more chastened dignity, and occasional elevation, in the Divine than in the Poet; but many resembling features in their modes of thinking and manner of expression." ‡

It does not come within our province, at present, to pronounce judgment upon these Astronomical Discourses; but we cannot help saying, by the way, that, though forming a considerable contribution to the pulpit eloquence of the day, they conferred but a slight service upon the theological cause they were intended to uphold.

The Glasgow popularity had its inconveniences, both public and private. A memorable event of the former kind is thus described:

"On another Sabbath evening, a scene occurred which I shall never forget. About an hour before the service commenced, all the seats were occupied. A broad passage runs through the area of the church from the main inner door to the pulpit. This passage it was intended should be kept vacant upon the present occasion for the better ventilation of the house. So soon, therefore, as the pews which entered from it were filled, the door, consisting of two

* Vol. II. p. 150. † Vol. II. p. 89. ‡ Vol. III. p. 38, note.

leaves, was bolted from within. Very soon all the other passages above and below were crowded to overflowing. A dense mass was by this time congregated in the lobby, many of whom observed, through the windows of a partition wall which ran between the lobby and the interior of the church, that the middle passage was empty. Those in the background, who could not themselves observe this, were made immediately aware of it. They all became very clamorous for admission, and many a good thump did the door receive. Those in charge of it, however, having got, as was said, positive orders to keep the passage clear, were inexorable. Matters went on in this manner until the bell commenced, which seemed to be the signal for increased clamour and importunity on the part of the crowd without. At length the door began to creak. The bell ceased. The beadle entered the pulpit with the Bible. All was still for a few moments. Every eye within sight of the vestry-door was anxiously fixed upon it to see who would appear, lest it might *not* be the Doctor, as he had on more occasions than one sadly disappointed the congregation. No sooner, however, was he observed entering the church, than an expression of intense delight rustled very perceptibly through the house. There was actually (I do not exaggerate) a movement of the whole congregation. At this moment a crash at the passage door was heard: crash after crash followed in rapid succession, intermingled with screams from the outer porch, chiefly from terrified females. Two of the door-keepers who were standing in the passage rushed to the door, which was evidently yielding, to prevent, if possible, its being forced in. They quickly retreated, seeing, as they did at once, that neither door nor door-keepers could withstand the pressure. The door immediately gave way with a thundering noise, one of the leaves torn from its hinges and trampled under foot. The rush was tremendous. In one instant the whole vacant space in front of the pulpit was crammed, and the torrent flowed on, flowing into and filling to its very end at the vestry-door the passage through which the Doctor had just entered. The occurrence grieved, and for a little while discomposed him, and upon rising to begin the service, he administered a sharp and impassioned rebuke to the parties involved in it. Dr. Wardlaw, who was present on this occasion also, informs us,—'I stepped into the vestry at the dismission of the congregation, and walked home with him, our dwellings lying in the same direction. On the way home we talked, *inter alia*, of this occurrence. He expressed, in his pithy manner, his great annoyance at such crowds. 'I preached the same sermon,' said he, 'in the morning, and, for the very purpose of preventing the oppressive annoyance of such a densely crowded place, I intimated that I should preach it again in the evening:' and with the most ingenuous guilelessness, he added, 'Have you ever tried that plan?' I did not smile—I laughed outright. 'No, no,' I replied, 'my good friend, there are but very few of us that are under the necessity of having recourse to the use of means for getting thin audiences.' He enjoyed the joke, and he felt, though he modestly disowned the compliment.'"*

Some of the anecdotes relative to the private annoyances to which Dr. Chalmers was at this time exposed, are very amusing. A mad woman gave a great deal of trouble by the attentions she pressed upon him; and the following specimen of his resistance to imposture is, on both sides of the tale, characteristic.

"While Dr. Chalmers was very busily engaged one forenoon in his study, a man entered, who at once propitiated him under the provocation of an unexpected interruption, by telling him that he called under great distress of mind. 'Sit down, Sir, be good enough to be seated,' said Dr. Chalmers, turning eagerly and full of interest from his writing-table. The visitor explained to him that he was troubled with doubts about the divine origin of the Chris-

* Vol. II. p. 160.

tian religion, and being kindly questioned as to what these were, he gave among others what is said in the Bible about Melchisedek being without father and without mother, &c. Patiently and anxiously Dr. Chalmers sought to clear away each successive difficulty as it was stated. Expressing himself as if greatly relieved in mind, and imagining that he had gained his end—'Doctor,' said the visitor, 'I am in great want of a little money at present, and perhaps you could help me in that way.' At once the object of his visit was seen. A perfect tornado of indignation burst upon the deceiver, driving him in very quick retreat from the study to the street door, these words escaping among others. 'Not a penny, Sir, not a penny. It's too bad! it's too bad! And to haul in your hypocrisy upon the shoulders of Melchisedek!'"*

At an early period of his Glasgow course, Dr. Chalmers went to London, for the purpose of preaching the anniversary sermon before the London Missionary Society; and his popularity, on this his first public appearance in the English Metropolis, was quite as great as it had been at home. This is the account of the effect of the discourse he came to deliver. The scene is the Surrey chapel.

"Although the service did not commence till eleven o'clock, at seven in the morning the chapel was crowded to excess, and many thousands went off for want of room. The two front seats in the gallery were reserved for ministers and students of theology to the number of between two and three hundred. An occupant of one of these seats informs us, that on the termination of the Church service, and after an extempore prayer by Dr. Kollock from America, Dr. Chalmers entered the pulpit in his usual simple and unpretending manner, and sat down, while all eyes were fixed upon him. He rose and gave out his text from 1 Cor. xiv. 22—25. The singularity of the text and the originality of the exordium awakened a breathless attention, which was increased by the northern accent of the preacher, and the apparent weakness or unmanageableness of his voice..... He had not proceeded many minutes till his voice gradually expanded in strength and compass, reaching every part of the house, and commanding universal attention. At the close of many of his long and well-turned periods, there was a sensible rustling throughout the audience, as if stopping to take breath. Towards the middle of the discourse the preacher became quite exhausted by the violence of his action, and sat down while two verses of a hymn were singing, accompanied as usual by the organ. He then rose and re-commenced his sermon, which occupied about an hour and a half in the delivery..... On returning from this exciting scene, Mr. Smith sat down to inform his friends in Glasgow of the result.—'I write under the nervousness of having heard and witnessed the most astonishing display of human talent that perhaps ever commanded sight or hearing. Dr. Chalmers has just finished the discourse before the Missionary Society. All my expectations were overwhelmed in the triumph of it. Nothing from the Tron pulpit ever exceeded it, nor did he ever more arrest and wonderwork his auditors. I had a full view of the whole place. The carrying forward of minds never was so visible to me: a constant assent of the head from the whole people accompanied all his paragraphs, and the breathlessness of expectation permitted not the beating of a heart to agitate the stillness.'"†

One other extract relating to his pulpit success during this London visit, may be given in proof of the point, that this success extended far beyond the limits of what is called the religious world.

"On the forenoon of Sabbath the 25th, Dr. Chalmers preached in the Scotch Church, London Wall, for the benefit of the Hibernian Society. 'The desire,' says the Rev. Dr. Manuel, who at that time was minister of this church, 'felt

* Vol. II. p. 191, note.

† Vol. II. p. 98.

by all classes, but particularly by the higher classes of society, to hear him upon this occasion, was extreme, exceeding almost all precedent. Among his auditors were a number of the most distinguished clergy of the Church of England, several Peers, many Members of Parliament, the Lord Mayor of the city, and literary characters of all classes and denominations. Anticipating the pressure, a large chapel in the neighbourhood was engaged to receive the overflow. Not only the Scotch Church, but this chapel also, was crammed to suffocation, hundreds seeking admission, but going away without getting into either place of worship. At the close of the sermon the Lord Mayor went up into the pulpit, and importuned Dr. Chalmers to preach on behalf of some city object, which he was obliged to decline.' 'All the world,' writes Mr. Wilberforce in his Diary, 'is wild about Dr. Chalmers. He seems truly pious, simple and unassuming. Sunday, 25th. Off early, with Canning, Huskisson and Lord Binning, to the Scotch Church, London Wall, to hear Dr. Chalmers. Vast crowds. Bobus Smith, Lords Elgin, Harrowby, &c. I was surprised to see how greatly Canning was affected; at times he was quite melted into tears. The passage which most affected him was at the close of the discourse. He is reported to have said, that although at first he felt uneasy in consequence of Dr. Chalmers's manner and accent, yet that he had never been so arrested by any oratory. 'The Tartan,' so runs the speech attributed to him, 'beats us all.'"*

There is a good story told in this connection of an elder brother of the Doctor's who resided in London, and who, from all the notices of him which occur, seems to have been a fine specimen of Northern impassivity.

"Amid all this excitement, which of course would be greatest among Dr. Chalmers's own countrymen, there was at least one Scotchman in London who continued quite unmoved. His own brother James never once went to hear him preach. He could not escape, however, hearing much about him, for the stir created had penetrated even into his daily haunt, the Jerusalem Coffee-house. 'Well,' said one of his merchant friends to him one day, wholly ignorant of his relationship, 'have you heard this wonderful countryman and namesake of yours?' 'Yes,' said James, somewhat drily, 'I have heard him.' 'And what did you think of him?' 'Very little indeed,' was the reply. 'Dear me,' said the astonished inquirer, 'when did you hear him?' 'About half an hour after he was born.'"†

Dr. Chalmers did not continue to be the minister of the same parish during the whole time of his residence in Glasgow. In 1819, he removed from the Tron church to the church of St. John's. The latter church had been lately erected in connection with the formation of a new parish; and the inducement on the Doctor's part to transfer himself to this charge, was the greater liberty he thereby obtained for the application of his peculiar schemes of parochial management. He seems to have made his popularity as a preacher mainly subservient to the carrying out of those schemes; and it is exceedingly honourable to him that he should have thus directed his influence to the accomplishment of objects of practical good. He sought for a better distinction than that which the fame of his eloquence conferred upon him, and earnestly engaged in every personal labour by which he might improve the condition of the mass of the people who were entrusted to his supervision. He established schools throughout his parish, and watched over their progress with the most careful and persevering attention. He visited the population from house to house, and conducted religious services

* Vol. II. p. 101.

† Vol. II. p. 101, note.

in kitchens and workshops and any other places in which congregations could assemble. He took into his own hands the administration of pauper relief, relinquishing all claim upon the fund raised by assessment, and depending only upon the contributions made at the church doors. He set himself to foster or create habits of industry, and frugality, and sympathy, among the poor themselves, and to bring to their very doors the moral counsel for which they were indisposed to seek. He organized a system of lay agency by which his personal efforts might be multiplied, so that nothing in the form of physical or spiritual want need escape without regard. It would be easy to repeat anecdotes relating to the homely and every-day usefulness of which he was thus the centre; and the contrast between the somewhat strained and artificial displays by which he attracted the crowds who flocked to hear him, and the unaffected simplicity with which he adapted himself to every case of individual or social benefit, is perhaps more charming than the latter phase of his conduct alone would be. A simpler man in his intercourse with others there could not indeed be found; and his strong good sense made him no less decidedly a man of business, than his healthy sympathies gave him the true interest in what he undertook.

Various attempts were from time to time made to induce him to leave Glasgow for other spheres of labour. He was strongly tempted to accept the first ministerial charge in Stirling: a proposal was entertained for placing him in the Natural Philosophy Chair of Edinburgh: a church in Edinburgh was offered to him and refused: and, at last, the Professorship of Moral Philosophy in St. Andrew's was brought fairly within his reach. This latter appointment he accepted, and accordingly left Glasgow in 1823, having continued there eight years.

It is very natural to ask, how Dr. Chalmers came to withdraw himself from the employment of a regular minister, in which situation he had obtained such unparalleled success; and to enter upon the new work of a University Lecturer. This question is not answered by Dr. Hanna in a manner satisfactory to us. In endeavouring to answer it ourselves, we are disposed to give the greatest weight to those reasons which are suggested by the peculiar position in which his great pulpit popularity had placed him. That which would, at first sight, seem to have constituted his chief inducement to remain where he was, really contained within itself his strongest motive toward removal. The efforts by which his popularity was sustained were directed to the production of vehement declamations that surprised and enchained the audiences he addressed. He discharged his duty toward those audiences with a greater fidelity to the moral requirements of their circumstances, than is commonly manifested by preachers who have to keep up a reputation for eloquence; but he was under obligation to provide a constant supply of that oratorical excitement, the expectation of which had been connected with his name. We can discover indications of his habitual use of fine passages, transferred from their original connection, in order to give the desired effect to the composition of the passing hour. Without representing this as at all improper, in the existing state of things, we cannot but feel that the plan of which it formed a part could not be very lasting in its influence. It must have become wearisome to its conductor, and would gradually fail to

produce its accustomed results. The very generality of discussion to which it would necessarily give rise, must have deprived the administration it characterized of permanent interest. The only security for such an interest lies in the continuous labour by which a minister endeavours to do justice to the whole subject of theology in its relation to the human condition, without respect to those opportunities of display which may present themselves to him. He must depend for his recommendation to his hearers upon the thoroughness with which he manages his theme. We believe that Chalmers had begun to experience the unpleasant pressure of the work in which he was engaged, and that he could not have gone on much longer with that work in the form he had hitherto pursued. He was not the man to make a fool of himself by the practice of extravagances, or to consent to occupy a lower grade than that to which he had been raised. He was built of much sounder materials than poor Edward Irving, and looked at his difficulties with a much clearer eye than belonged to that enthusiast. His popularity did not overset him in the least; and he was not likely to trust himself to a course in which his feet did not tread upon firm ground. It was impossible for him to be, in the pulpit, other than the impassioned pleader he had been, and he therefore left the pulpit for an untried walk of public exertion. The change in his employment, viewed in the light we have thrown upon it, may give rise to many serious reflections upon the value of that kind of popularity by which he was so highly distinguished, and may especially moderate the feelings of admiration with which such popularity is naturally regarded. There is, in other ways besides that to which we have referred, a balance of substantial disadvantage to be always set against the apparently unalloyed success of cases like the one before us; and the disadvantage relates not only to the individual who obtains the success, but also to the cause of religious truth with which his efforts are identified. The small still voice is truer and more powerful than the earthquake or the storm.

When we follow up our questioning on the point under our immediate notice, and ask whether Dr. Chalmers's pulpit popularity fitted him for the task of lecturing either on Moral Philosophy or Theology, we are obliged to confess, that the method of address by which he gained popularity evidently vitiated his discharge of the duties of a Professor. To say that he preached, rather than lectured, would not fully or accurately convey our idea of his deficiency. His lecturing partook, in a remarkable degree, of the faults of his preaching. It was declamatory and discursive even more than preaching commonly is; and it was confined to that enforcement of single points of the subject in hand, instead of grasping the subject in its whole range, which gave rise to the saying, that the movement of his sermons was only that of a door upon its hinges.

We should not do justice to this part of our narrative, if we did not add to what we have said of Dr. Chalmers's ministry, the account here given of the effect produced by it in Glasgow.

"We know of the thoughtless young officer, who, flaunting in idle vacancy through the city streets on a Sabbath forenoon, and attracted by the eager crowds which he saw pouring into the Tron Church, turned into that church as he would have done into a theatre, but found it to be indeed the house of

God—to him the very gate to heaven. We know of the fashionable lady, full of taste and high refinement, but devoid of all earnest thought or care about her immortal soul, driving from her mansion in a neighbouring county to be regaled by the eloquence of the celebrated orator, but found of Him whom she sought not, and turned effectually unto God. We know of the busy bustling merchant, immersed in all the calculations of this world's traffic, lifted to the sublimer calculations of eternity, and from the very whirl of this world's most powerful engrossments won over to a life of faith and devoted philanthropy. We know of the aspiring student, sent by thoughtless parents to college to prepare for the Christian ministry—inflamed by literary ambition, but dead in heart to the love of Christ, awakened as from a trance, and made to feel the true nature of that office into which he had been heedlessly rushing, ushered into it fired with the fresh fervours of the all-constraining love. Of these we cannot speak more particularly, nor can we offer any estimate of the number of those whose first religious impressions are traceable to the same earthly source; but we may be permitted to express the opinion, that with all the transient and tumultuous excitement of its mere pulpit oratory, there has rarely been a ministry of equal length as largely blessed of the Divine Spirit to the conversion of individual souls. The more general effects of that ministry, in its bearings upon the religious condition of Glasgow and of Scotland, lie open enough to observation. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, by the great body of the upper classes of society evangelical doctrines were nauseated and despised; when he left it, even by those who did not bow to their influence, these doctrines were acknowledged to be indeed the very doctrines of the Bible. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, in the eye of the multitude evangelism stood confounded with a drivelling sanctimoniousness or a sour-minded asceticism; when he left it, from all such false associations the Christianity of the New Testament stood clearly and nobly redeemed. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, for nearly a century the Magistrates and Town-Council had exercised the city patronage in a spirit determinately anti-evangelical; when he left it, so complete was the revolution which had been effected, that from that time forward none but evangelical clergymen were appointed by the city patrons. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, there and elsewhere over Scotland there were many most devoted clergymen of the establishment who had given themselves up wholly to the ministry of the word and to prayer, but there was not one in whose faith and practice week-day ministrations had the place or power which he assigned to them; when he left it, he had exhibited such a model of fidelity, diligence, and activity, in all departments of ministerial labour, as told finely upon the spirit and practice of the whole ministry of Scotland. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, unnoticed thousands of the city population were sinking into ignorance, infidelity, and vice, and his eye was the first in this country to foresee to what a fearful magnitude, that evil, if suffered to grow on unchecked, would rise; when he left it, his ministry in that city remained behind him a permanent warning to a nation which has been but slow to learn that the greatest of all questions, both for statesmen and for churchmen, is the condition of those untaught and degraded thousands who swarm now around the base of the social edifice, and whose brawny arms may yet grasp its pillars to shake or to destroy. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, in the literary circles of the Scottish metropolis a thinly disguised infidelity sat on the seats of greatest influence, and smiled or scoffed at a vital energetic faith in the great and distinctive truths of revelation, while widely over his native land the spirit of a frigid indifference to religion prevailed; when he left it, the current of public sentiment had begun to set in a contrary direction, and although it took many years, and the labour of many other hands, to carry that healthful change onward to maturity, yet I believe that it is not over-estimating it to say, that it was mainly by Dr. Chalmers' ministry in Glasgow—

by his efforts at this period in the pulpit and through the press—that the tide of national opinion and sentiment was turned."*

Besides the volume of Astronomical Discourses already noticed, Dr. Chalmers, while in Glasgow, published two other volumes of Sermons, the second of which, *On the Application of Christianity to the Commercial and Ordinary Affairs of Life*, we regard as his best production of its class. He also issued some occasional publications, one of which, *On the Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns*, appeared in a series, at quarterly intervals.

The third volume of his Life relates to that portion of Dr. Chalmers's history, between his leaving Glasgow and the breaking forth of the contention which ended in the establishment of the Free Church.

He continued to be Professor of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrew's for five years, and his popularity in that office seems to have corresponded to his previous popularity as a preacher. His class-room was crowded with a mixture of students and amateur spectators, and his performances were often greeted with rounds of applause. So far, however, from yielding to this enthusiasm, he did his best to conduct his office to the sober fulfilment of its legitimate purposes; and the impression he made upon the subjects of his instruction was of a most salutary kind. He could not, indeed, fail to awaken in their minds a deep interest in whatever he brought before them.

While he was at St. Andrew's, a Royal Commission for the visitation of the Colleges in Scotland investigated the affairs of that University. He had refused to share with the other Professors an annual dividend to which he did not consider the body legally entitled. The Commissioners formally justified and recommended his reception of the money; but afterwards, in their Report, declared that "the Principal and Professors appear to have made these appropriations without any authority." This roused his indignation, and drew from him a tremendous rebuke, which is strongly indicative of the high sense of honour he cultivated.

"When receiving that money under your sanction, I did not understand that I had given up to you, in exchange for it, the power of aspersing my character and good name. .... A British King and British Parliament will know how to appreciate the moral judgments of men, who, instead of constructing their representation on the materials which they found, first adjusted the materials to suit their representation; who became the tempters first and the accusers afterwards; who, ere they would tell the fault, took aside the only professor that was free from it, and suggested, nay, authorized, the very deed which numbers him among the defaulters; who, such their love of virtue that nothing less than a monopoly of the article would serve them, cleared the field of its last remnant, that they might become the only examples and only expounders of it themselves."†

After negotiating about an offer of the Chair of Moral Philosophy in the London University, and declining to accept a presentation to the parish of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, he took the appointment of Professor of Divinity in the Edinburgh University. A graphic description is given in this volume of the delivery of his introductory lecture in the latter capacity.

"Dr. Chalmers was inaugurated as Professor of Divinity in the University

* Vol. II. p. 482.

† Vol. III. pp. 112, 115.

of Edinburgh, on Thursday, the 6th of November, 1828, and it was announced that his introductory lecture would be delivered on the following Monday, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The morning of that day was singularly unpropitious, showers of snow and hail sweeping through the College courts; yet from so early an hour as nine, those who had secured that privilege were passing by a private entrance into the class-room, while so great a crowd besieged the outer door, that a strong body of police found it difficult to restrain the tumult. 'It was a day,' says Mr. Bruce Cunningham, 'as you will easily believe, of no common expectation and excitement, not only among those who were professionally required to become his pupils, but also to not a few of the worthiest citizens of Edinburgh, who, having once and again listened with impassioned wonder and delight to his mighty words as a preacher of the gospel, scarcely knew what to expect from him as an academic expounder and disciplinarian in the science of theology. If I may judge of other minds from the state of my own feelings at the time, I may safely state that at no time, either before or since, has a tumult of emotions so peculiar and intense agitated the hearts of the many who waited for his first appearance in the chair of theology. I well remember his look as he first came from the vestry into the passage leading to the desk. He had an air of extreme abstraction, and at the same time of full presence of mind. Ascending the steps in his familiar, resolute manner, he almost immediately engaged in his opening prayer. That was most startling and yet deeply solemnizing. In closest union with a simple, forcible antithesis of intellectual conception, clothed in still more antithetical expressions, there was a deep vital consciousness of the glory of the Divine presence. The power of the dialectician, restrained and elevated by the prayerful reverence as of some prophet in ancient Israel, imparted a most remarkable peculiarity of aspect to his first devotional utterances in the class. On his discourse I shall not presume on your patience by any thing like detailed remark. All felt far more deeply than they could worthily declare, that it was a most glorious prelude, and that at once and for ever his right to reign as a king in the broad realms of theological science, and to rule over their own individual minds as a teacher, was as unequivocal as his mastery over a popular assembly. Personally, I always feel in recalling that scene as if, by some peculiar enchantment of association, I had listened all unconscious of the present world to one or other of Handel's most sublime efforts of harmony. To this hour I dwell with all the mysterious delight that is awakened by some grand choral symphony on some of his novel expressions, which, borrowed from physical science, directly tended, by almost more than the force of the best diagrams, to make his noble thoughts all our own.' The introductory lecture was delivered amid rapturous applause; and, with scarcely any sensible abatement, the excitement of that first meeting was sustained throughout the whole of the succeeding session."*

In 1832, Dr. Chalmers was elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; and in 1833 he published his Bridgewater Treatise *On the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man.* He had, previously to this, since his departure from Glasgow, published a third volume of his *Christian and Civic Economy*, a treatise *On Literary and Ecclesiastical Endowments*, and a work *on Political Economy.*

We now approach to what may be justly called the great struggle of his life. The General Assembly of 1834 had passed an enactment, generally called the Veto Law, by which a Presbytery was authorized to reject a presentation to a vacant congregation when disapproved of by the major part of the male heads of families who were members of

* Vol. III. p. 224.

the congregation. The passing of this law was a sign of the growing influence of that party in the Church of Scotland of which Dr. Chalmers was the head, and it was followed by a Church Extension scheme, having in view the strengthening of the Establishment by enlarging the number of its ministerial stations. This scheme contemplated the erection of new churches by voluntary contribution, and the endowment of them at the expense of Government. A strong opposition to it was naturally raised by the Dissenters of Scotland, who availed themselves of the opportunity thus afforded for enforcing the claims of the voluntary principle in application to the support of religion. Influenced by this pressure from without, the Government, instead of complying with the demand made upon it, appointed a Commission of Inquiry. This measure was strongly objected to by the Church Extensionists; and though the Commission sat and issued reports, the result was a shelving of the question. Dr. Chalmers took a very active part in the management of these affairs. He tried hard to get the Government on his side; he published various pamphlets on the disputed points of the case; and when no State aid could be hoped for, he prosecuted a tour through the North of Scotland for the purpose of obtaining increased assistance from the people. His efforts were eminently successful; but their success brought on that collision between the secular and ecclesiastical elements of the Establishment which ought from the beginning to have been foreseen. A case arose in which a clergyman, presented by a patron to a vacant congregation, was rejected by the Presbytery on the ground of the Veto Act, and the presentation was confirmed in opposition to the Presbytery, both by the Supreme Civil Court and by the House of Lords upon appeal. Another case occurred in which a Presbytery was censured by the Civil Court for ordaining to the ministry over a vacant congregation a different person from the one first presented to it. A third case followed, in which the General Assembly suspended the majority of a Presbytery for settling a minister over a vacant congregation in disregard of the operation of the Veto Law. There was also a fourth case, in which a minister, who had been ordained by a majority of the Presbytery contrary to the Veto Law, and who had been prohibited by the Commission of the General Assembly from officiating in the parish, obtained from the Civil Court an interdict against the prohibition. Strenuous attempts were made to effect a legislative settlement of this unhappy state of things. Journeys to London, and extensive correspondence with different Governments and Members of both Houses of Parliament, were undertaken; but there was no way out of the fix that was arrived at. The nearest approach to a satisfactory arrangement was a Bill introduced by Lord Aberdeen, which "allowed the parishioners to state objections of all kinds to the presentee; but obliged them at the same time to state the grounds and reasons of their objections. It allowed the Presbytery to take all these objections into consideration; but permitted it to give effect to them only when personal to the presentee, when legally substantiated, and when sufficient, in their judgment, to warrant his rejection. It disallowed unacceptableness to the people as a disqualification."* This method

* Vol. III. p. 162.

of adjustment was refused by Dr. Chalmers and his friends, because, as he said, "the Presbytery were restricted by it from giving effect to the conscientious dissent of the people on the ground of the simple fact of that dissent, and irrespective of reasons.* The questions of difference became embittered by much personal recrimination; and the non-intrusion demand grew into an anti-patronage agitation. After years of disturbance and contention, the final answer of Sir Robert Peel's Government, in 1843, was a distinct and conclusive negative upon the claims of the Church; and at the succeeding General Assembly the disruption, which resulted in the formation of the Free Church of Scotland, took place.

The long, windy narrative which Dr. Hanna gives of these transactions will be found scarcely intelligible to persons unversed in Scotch ecclesiastical affairs. It is full of that tiresome dwelling upon unimportant details which confuses as much as it wearies the mind. "The parcel-gilt goblet," "the dolphin chamber," "the round table," and "the sea-coal fire," are always considered necessary to fix the "swearing" upon the "Wednesday in Whitsun-week." We will endeavour, in a few words, to give what seems to us the true philosophy of the matter.

In the first place, the schemes projected by Dr. Chalmers and his adherents, under whatever names they went, were all portions of one plan for party ascendancy in the Scotch Establishment. His partizans had gained a superior authority in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and they sought for a paramount direction of all Church affairs. The moderate party to whom they were opposed, not only withheld its sympathy from, but resisted their measures, and the Government, in giving effect to their wishes, must have consented to put down and destroy the influence of their opponents. This it was not likely to do, and could not do with safety. No national establishment could, under the circumstances, exist, unless it practically admitted a wider comprehensiveness than these Evangelicals were willing to tolerate. That they passed new laws, and sought for additional help in order to compass their exclusive ends, justly excited alarm, and produced reaction where their exclusiveness was not approved of: and the refusal of the Legislature to abet their designs, was, so far, a simple declaration that the polity of the Church should not be turned into an instrument by which one section of its members might harass and oppress another.

We have, secondly, to observe, that the proceedings of these non-intrusionists were altogether inconsistent with the Establishment principle on which they professed to rest. The terms of ministerial qualification had been fixed in the arrangement of the union between Church and State. The Church, instead of adhering to those terms as they were defined, desired, in the instance before us, to interfere with the appointment of its ministers to an extent confessedly indefinable. This indefinableness of the scrutiny to be instituted was indeed the very pith of the demand. Lord Aberdeen's Bill would have given to the Ecclesiastical Courts whatever power in the case could be reduced to legitimate description; and the rejection of that Bill was a virtual rejection of State control as to the matter in hand. If Presbyteries had been permitted to exercise the authority given to them by the Veto Law, the

* Vol. III. p. 164.

law of patronage, which the State had to uphold, would have been nullified. This was clearly proved by the fact, that the non-intrusion question gradually assumed the form of an anti-patronage scheme. We do not mean to say, that the independence of the Church is reconcilable with the preservation of the legal rights of the State in this matter; but in a contest in which those rights were so plainly involved, as they were here, the State not only would be sure to gain, but ought to gain the victory at any expense of loss to the Church. The contest, when brought to this issue, became one of national interest, affecting the liberties of all the subjects of the realm, whether members of the Church or not. No one can calculate the mischief which an ecclesiastical body, armed with legal authority and yet independent of legal control, would effect; and the Dissenters of Scotland might well protest against the extension among them of this *imperium in imperio*. The distinction between spiritual and temporal power which was attempted to be drawn for the settlement of this dispute, is an inapplicable one. That distinction was abolished in relation to the subject, when the union between Church and State was formed. It is one of the most fatal effects of that union that it substitutes temporal for spiritual considerations throughout its sphere of operation; and nothing less than a removal of the original cause of confusion will avail to preserve any distinct boundary-line with regard to them. Dr. Chalmers based his defence of Religious Establishments upon their consistency with the integrity of this distinction; and there could not be a more favourable case for the trial of the truth of his theory than that with which he was now personally concerned. The theory was, in this trial, scattered to the winds; and it was proved by the clearest demonstration of fact, as it had been previously proved by the most conclusive reasoning, that the primary condition of an Establishment was the limitation of freedom of action on the part of the Church.

Whatever pity we may feel for the men who were involved in the inconsistencies to which we have referred, we cannot withhold our admiration from the courageous fidelity with which they gave up their honours and emoluments, when they found that they could not otherwise carry out their religious views. A more impressive scene is not depicted on the pages of ecclesiastical history than that which is presented by their departure from the General Assembly when all hope of success had been abandoned by them.

"Dr. Welsh, the Moderator, entered and took the chair. Soon afterwards his Grace the Lord High Commissioner was announced, and the whole assemblage rose and received him standing. Solemn prayer was then offered up. The members having resumed their seats, Dr. Welsh rose. By the eager pressure forward—the hush! hush! that burst from so many lips—the anxiety to hear threatened to defeat itself. The disturbance lasted but a moment. 'Fathers and brethren,' said Dr. Welsh—and now every syllable fell upon the ear amid the breathless stillness which prevailed—'according to the usual form of procedure, this is the time for making up the roll. But in consequence of certain proceedings affecting our rights and privileges, proceedings which have been sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government and by the Legislature of the country, and more especially in respect that there has been an infringement on the liberties of our Constitution, so that we could not now constitute this Court without a violation of the terms of union between Church and State in this land as now authoritatively declared, I must

protest against our proceeding further. The reasons that have led me to come to this conclusion are fully set forth in the document which I hold in my hand, and which, with permission of the house, I will now proceed to read.' In this document, after the wrongs of the Church had been succinctly recited, the parties who signed it proceed at its close to say,—'We protest that in the circumstances in which we are placed it is and shall be lawful for us, and such other Commissioners chosen to the Assembly appointed to have been this day holden as may concur with us, to withdraw to a separate place of meeting for the purpose of taking steps along with all who adhere to us, maintaining with us the Confession of Faith and Standards of the Church of Scotland, for separating in an orderly way from the Establishment, and thereupon adopting such measures as may be competent to us, in humble dependence on God's grace and the aid of the Holy Spirit, for the advancement of his glory, the extension of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour, and the administration of the affairs of Christ's house, according to his holy word: and we now withdraw accordingly, humbly and solemnly acknowledging the hand of the Lord in the things which have come upon us, because of our manifold sins, and the sins of the Church and nation; but, at the same time, with assured conviction that we are not responsible for any consequences that may follow from this our enforced separation from an Establishment which we loved and prized, through interference with conscience, the dishonour done to Christ's crown, and the rejection of His sole and supreme authority as King in his Church.'

"Having finished the reading of this Protest, Dr. Welsh laid it upon the table, turned and bowed respectfully to the Commissioner, left the chair, and proceeded along the aisle to the door of the church. Dr. Chalmers had been standing immediately on his left. He looked vacant and abstracted while the Protest was being read; but Dr. Welsh's movement awakened him from the reverie. Seizing eagerly upon his hat, he hurried after him with all the air of one impatient to be gone. Mr. Campbell of Monzie, Dr. Gordon, Dr. Macdonald, Dr. Macfarlan, followed him. The effect upon the audience was overwhelming. At first a cheer burst from the galleries, but it was almost instantly and spontaneously restrained. It was felt by all to be an expression of feeling unsuited to the occasion: it was checked in many cases by an emotion too deep for any other utterance than the fall of sad and silent tears. The whole audience was now standing, gazing in stillness upon the scene. Man after man, row after row, moved on along the aisle, till the benches on the left, lately so crowded, showed scarce an occupant. More than 400 ministers, and a still larger number of elders, had withdrawn. A vast multitude of people stood congregated in George's Street, crowding in upon the church doors. When the deed was done within, the intimation of it passed like lightning through the mass without, and when the forms of their most venerated clergymen were seen emerging from the church, a loud and irrepressible cheer burst from their lips and echoed through the now half-empty Assembly Hall. There was no design on the part of the clergymen to form into a procession, but they were forced to it by the narrowness of the lane opened for their egress through the heart of the crowd. Falling into line, and walking three abreast, they formed into a column which extended for a quarter of a mile and more. As they moved along to the new Hall prepared for their reception, very different feelings prevailed among the numberless spectators who lined the streets, and thronged each window and door and balcony on either side. Some gazed in stupid wonder; the majority looked on in silent admiration. A few were seen to smile, as if in mockery; while here and there, as the child or wife of some outgoing minister caught sight of a husband's or a father's form, accomplishing an act which was to leave his family homeless and unprovided, warm tear-drops formed, which, as if half-ashamed of them, the hand of faith was in haste to wipe away. There were Judges of the Court of Session there, who had placed themselves where

they could be unseen observers of what took place, who must have felt perplexed, it may be saddened, when they saw realized before their eyes the fruits of their decisions. Elsewhere in the city, Lord Jeffery was sitting reading in his quiet room, when one burst in upon him saying, 'Well, what do you think of it? More than four hundred of them are actually out.' The book was flung aside, and springing to his feet, Lord Jeffery exclaimed, 'I'm proud of my country; there is not another country upon earth where such a deed could have been done!'"*

We must resume our account of Dr. Chalmers's personal history. Before the breaking out of the Non-intrusion controversy, he had been honoured by being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and a corresponding Member of the Royal Institute of France, and receiving the degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Oxford. He delivered in London a course of lectures in defence of Religious Establishments to an enthusiastic audience, crowded with Church-and-State dignitaries. Dr. Hanna records the triumph of the occasion; but he takes no notice of the conclusive answers which every point of those lectures subsequently received. The commonest fairness required that at least some mention should have been made of Dr. Wardlaw's reply. A visit to France by this champion of the Church, was consequent upon the attention which had been paid to him by the literati of that country. He found time, during the heat of the religious struggle in which he was engaged, to publish a volume on the subject of Pauperism in Scotland. When proposed by his friends as a candidate for the Chair of Theology in Glasgow, he was rejected through the opposing influence of the moderate party of the Kirk. After the establishment of the Free Church, he devoted himself, heart and soul, to the promotion of its interests. He had been the principal originator of its plans, and he was the principal agent in carrying them out. His efforts in preaching, speaking, travelling, writing, consulting, providing and organizing, were prodigious. His reward was equal to his labour. Upwards of £300,000 were contributed during the first year of its existence, by the people of Scotland alone, to the support of this Church; and a sum for missionary operations was raised, which exceeded by £12,000 that which had been raised by the whole Establishment in the previous year. He was Moderator of the first Free Church General Assembly; and he became Theological Professor in the new College which was, as soon as possible, connected with that Church. He took an active part in the formation of the Evangelical Alliance; and afforded literary assistance to the North British Review. He set himself to promote the civilization and religious improvement of the West Port of Edinburgh, a district notorious for its barbarism and crime. What he did there constitutes one of the noblest works in which he ever engaged. By means of schools and preaching and private visitation, he succeeded in completely changing the appearance of things. The chapter in which his efforts in this department are detailed is worthy of the most attentive perusal, both for its appalling account of the evils with which he had to contend, and its description of the methods by which they were overcome. He acted upon the declaration he made at a public

* Vol. IV. p. 336.

meeting: "Who cares about the Free Church, compared with the Christian good of the people of Scotland? Who cares about any Church but as an instrument of Christian good? For be assured, that the moral and religious well-being of the population is of infinitely higher importance than the advancement of any sect."* The result of his exertions is thus given.

"But five years have past since he was at the head of the enterprise, and, under the admirable management of Mr. Tasker, each year has witnessed an advancing progress. In its educational department the work is complete. In the different schools, male and female day and evening, between 400 and 500 children are in attendance; nor is it known that there is a single child of a family resident within the West Port who is not at school. Of what other like district in this country could the same be said, and by what other instrumentality could it have been accomplished?.... The ecclesiastical department presents us with a no less gratifying result. The habit of church attendance has become as general and regular within the West Port as it is in the best-conditioned districts of Edinburgh. The church is filled to overflowing, and while these pages are passing through the press, the people of the West Port, who among themselves contributed no less than £100 to the building of their church at first, are contributing at an equal rate of liberality for the erection of a gallery..... During the last year, besides meeting all the expenses necessary for the due support of Christian ordinances, amounting to nearly £250, the West Port congregation has contributed £70 to missionary and educational objects."†

A short time after presiding at the first sacrament administered within the walls of the West Port church, Dr. Chalmers went to London for the purpose of appearing before a Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the refusal of sites for the erection of churches in Scotland. He remained away, from the 6th to the 28th of May, 1847, on which latter day he returned home. This was a Friday; and on the two subsequent days nothing remarkable was observed in his deportment. He retired to rest early on the Sunday evening, and was found in his bed the next morning a corpse. He died in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

No one can read the ample record of Dr. Chalmers's life which his son-in-law has produced without conceiving a very high opinion of the character of its subject.

His affection for his family and friends was hearty in the extreme. A generous hospitality presided over the arrangements of his house; an entirely trustful love characterized his intercourse with his wife; and a playful tenderness made him a child among his children. At one time, we find him playing with his children at bowls on the floor of the room; at another, composing letters to them in printed characters because they could not read writing; and at a third, furnishing them, each in turn, with a journal of his proceedings while from home. Perhaps the most delightful exhibition of this phase of his character is that which relates to his connection with his grandson Tommy. The scene toward the close of life, in which the old man is represented as kneeling down on Sunday evenings and praying with the little boy alone in his study, is inexpressibly affecting.

A faithful and earnest private cultivation of the spirit of piety accompanied his public enforcements of religious truth, so that he

* Vol. IV. p. 394. † Vol. IV. p. 413.

strove to be in all personal and social respects, even down to the minutest details of duty, what he exhorted others to become.

The naturalness of his behaviour, under circumstances which might have provoked a little affectation, is worthy of notice. There is an account given of two different tours he made through considerable parts of England; one in order to ascertain the operation of the Poor Laws, and the other to visit a number of the English cathedrals. In each of these tours he was brought into contact with people of all ranks, under circumstances to him very unusual; but he always remained, in manner as well as in purpose, true to himself. How nobly this truthfulness was displayed when, on a quotation from an anonymous pamphlet published by him at the commencement of his ministry being thrown in his teeth, he rose in the General Assembly, and, acknowledging the publication, confessed that the sentiment was wrong, and the utterance of it was outrageously wrong! We gave the quotation in our former article: and we can readily believe what is asserted by his biographer, that this act of penitence "was not only the most striking incident of the Assembly, but was perhaps, externally, the most imposing single passage in his life."*

A strong sense of independence was one of his most observable characteristics. When elected Moderator of the General Assembly, he declined to attend the public dinners given on Sundays by the Royal Commissioner; just as he had refused to sanction with his presence the musical performance which preceded his preaching for the Sunday-schools at Stockport.

His diligence in the cultivation of habits of study, which were pursued with a clock-work regularity, affords a notable indication of the soundness of his mind; for his temptations to break in upon and destroy such habits must have been unusually powerful. Health and vigour were indeed always distinctive of his efforts, even when prejudice and narrowness of conception perverted them.

A contrast may be detected in his opinions and proceedings on the most important subjects to which his attention was devoted. On political questions, with deep popular sympathies he united a prevailing aristocratic tendency. He was a strenuous advocate of Catholic Emancipation, but opposed to the Reform Bill; and though ardently desiring the elevation of the working classes, he regarded with disfavour their struggles for civil freedom and equality. His views on Church affairs were often glaringly irreconcilable among themselves. His theology was at once limited in its circle of thought, and generous in its relation to all that could be embraced within its arbitrary range; though his mind seems to have expanded, in some degree, to more liberal theological notions, after he was released from the bondage of the Establishment. Much of his exclusiveness and inconsistency arose from his position, but much of it also arose from the fact that his mental power was not adequately seconded by either acuteness or comprehensiveness.

This, however, we freely say of him, that he was a great and good man, who earned a title to the first rank of those among whom he will be classed, and whose name in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland will most probably stand next to that of John Knox. Γ.

* Vol. II. p. 76.

CARLYLE'S STERLING.*

It is late, and may seem needless after all that has been written, to notice Mr. Carlyle's Life of John Sterling. There is one aspect of it, however, of such importance, that we cannot forbear attempting to fix the regards of our readers upon it. To ourselves it has been the absorbing interest of the book, and (as we think) indicates both the danger and hope of religion at the present moment. We mean the contrast of the two minds which it presents,—that of the biographer and that of the friend whom he pourtrays. While by the contrast we are made fearfully sensible of the influence of Mr. Carlyle on his age, unfavourable to the religious spirit, if not fatal to religious conviction, we are relieved, nevertheless, by finding that he himself was influenced, and it is clear far more than he is is pleased to express, by the religious convictions and feelings of his friend. We have in the two the danger and the hope of the times, and in thus witnessing the danger yielding to the hope, we ourselves experience inexpressible satisfaction.

A significant instance occurs in the naïveté (and yet a naïveté that puts on the air of magnanimity, deeming itself greatly above its object) with which Carlyle has introduced a letter of Sterling to himself, criticising the *Sartor Resartus*. Throughout, the reader feels the infinite superiority of Sterling to his friend, who excuses rather than approves his criticism, and who, while he strives to magnify, can scarcely conceal, himself behind his screen of words: not to mention the just critique upon such words in the Sartor which Sterling's letter contains, how just and true are his remarks when he passes from the style to the thought; who does not feel in reading them to what a potent spell for mischief unthinking multitudes have been subject beenath the influence of Carlyle, unmitigated by the simple and sweet religiousness of minds like Sterling's?

"The sense of strangeness is also awakened by the marvellous combinations, in which the work abounds to a degree that the common reader must find perfectly bewildering. This can hardly, however, be treated as a consequence of the *style;* for the style in this respect coheres with, and springs from, the whole turn and tendency of thought. The noblest images are objects of a humorous smile, in a mind which sees itself above all Nature and throned in the arms of an Almighty Necessity; while the meanest have a dignity, inasmuch as they are trivial symbols of the same one life to which the great whole belongs. And hence, as I divine, the startling whirl of incongruous juxtaposition, which of a truth must to many readers seem as amazing as if the Pythia on the tripod should have struck up a drinking song, or Thersites had caught the prophetic strain of Cassandra.

"All this, of course, appears to me true and relevant; but I cannot help feeling that it is, after all, but a poor piece of quackery to comment on a multitude of phenomena without adverting to the principle which lies at the root, and gives the true meaning to them all. Now this principle I seem to myself to find in the state of mind which is attributed to Teufelsdröckh; in his state of mind, I say, not in his opinions, though these are, in him as in all men, most important,—being one of the best indices to his state of mind. Now what distinguishes him, not merely from the greatest and best men who have been on earth for eighteen hundred years, but from the whole body of those who have been working forwards towards the good,

* The Life of John Sterling. By Thomas Carlyle. Chapman and Hall. 1851.

and have been the salt and light of the world, is this: That he does not believe in a God. Do not be indignant; I am blaming no one;—but if I write my thoughts, I must write them honestly.

"Teufelsdröckh does not belong to the herd of sensual and thoughtless men; because he does perceive in all Existence a unity of power; because he does believe that this is a real power external to him and dominant to a certain extent over him, and does not think that he is himself a shadow in a world of shadows. He has a deep feeling of the beautiful, the good and the true; and a faith in their final victory.

"At the same time, how evident is the strong inward unrest, the Titanic heaving of mountain on mountain; the storm-like rushing over land and sea in search of peace. He writhes and roars under his consciousness of the difference in himself between the possible and the actual, the hoped-for and the existent. He feels that duty is the highest law of his own being; and knowing how it bids the waves be stilled into an icy fixedness and grandeur, he trusts (but with a boundless inward misgiving) that there is a principle of order which will reduce all confusion to shape and clearness. But wanting peace himself, his fierce dissatisfaction fixes on all that is weak, corrupt and imperfect around him; and instead of a calm and steady co-operation with all those who are endeavouring to apply the highest ideas as remedies for the worst evils, he holds himself aloof in savage isolation; and cherishes (though he dare not own) a stern joy at the prospect of that Catastrophe which is to turn loose again the elements of man's social life, and give for a time the victory to evil;—in hopes that each new convulsion of the world must bring us nearer to the ultimate restoration of all things; fancying that each may be the last. Wanting the calm and cheerful reliance, which would be the spring of active exertion, he flatters his own distemper by persuading himself that his own age and generation are peculiarly feeble and decayed; and would even perhaps be willing to exchange the restless immaturity of our self-consciousness, and the promise of its long throe-pangs, for the unawakened undoubting simplicity of the world's childhood; of the times in which there was all the evil and horror of our day, only with the difference that conscience had not arisen to try and condemn it. In these longings, if they are Teufelsdröckh's, he seems to forget that, could we go back five thousand years, we should only have the prospect of travelling them again, and arriving at last at the same point at which we stand now.

"Something of this state of mind I may say that I understand; for I have myself experienced it. And the root of the matter appears to me: A want of sympathy with the great body of those who are now endeavouring to guide and help onward their fellow-men. And in what is this alienation grounded? It is, as I believe, simply in the difference on that point: viz. the clear, deep, habitual recognition of a one Living *Personal* God, essentially good, wise, true and holy, the Author of all that exists; and a re-union with whom is the only end of all rational beings. This belief * * *."

Carlyle so breaks off in his citation of Sterling's letter, observing—"There follow several pages on 'Personal God,' and other abstruse or indeed properly unspeakable matters; these, and a general Postscript of qualifying purport, I will suppress; extracting only the following fractions, as luminous or slightly significant to us."

We shudder in reading this comment, and are only relieved by his fidelity to Sterling, and, we would fain hope, conscious or unconscious sympathy with his faith and piety, supplying the luminous significant fractions (as he terms them) of the remainder of his letter. The chief of these we give:

"Now see the difference of Teufelsdröckh's feelings. At the end of book iii. chap. 8, I find these words: 'But whence? O Heaven, whither? Sense

knows not; Faith knows not, only that it is through mystery to mystery, from God to God.

> We *are such stuff*
> As dreams are made of, and our little life
> Is rounded with a sleep.'

"And this tallies with the whole strain of his character. What we find everywhere, with an abundant use of the name of God, is the conception of a formless Infinite, whether in time or space; of a high inscrutable Necessity, which it is the chief wisdom and virtue to submit to, which is the mysterious impersonal base of all Existence,—shews itself in the laws of every separate being's nature; and for man in the shape of duty. On the other hand, I affirm, we do know whence we come, and whither we go! * * * And in this state of mind, as there is no true sympathy with others, just as little is there any true peace for ourselves. There is indeed possible the unsympathising factitious calm of Art, which we find in Goethe. But at what expense is it bought? Simply, by abandoning altogether the idea of duty, which is the great witness of our personality. And he attains his inhuman ghastly calmness by reducing the Universe to a heap of material for the idea of beauty to work on."

It is this natural, human, instinctive and Christian protest against the dread Atheism or Pantheism of minds whose exercise and cultivation within certain limits and in certain directions, exclusive and excessive, to the neglect of the highest of all mental exercise, has had fatal sway on the present age, that we hail and welcome as reviving signs of a return and restoration of belief! It is true this is Sterling's testimony at an early period, and during his residence at Hurstmonceux in 1835; but it was afterwards the same. A similar protest appears in what he says of Goethe, in a letter again to Carlyle from Madeira in 1837.

"As to reading, I have been looking at *Goethe*, especially the *Life*,—much as a shying horse looks at a post. In truth, I am afraid of him. I enjoy and admire him so much, and feel I could so easily be tempted to go along with him. And yet I have a deeply-rooted and old persuasion that he was the most splendid of anachronisms. A thoroughly, nay intensely Pagan Life, in an age when it is men's duty to be Christian. I therefore never take him up without a kind of inward check, as if I were trying some forbidden spell; while, on the other hand, there is so infinitely much to be learnt from him, and it is so needful to understand the world we live in, and our own age, and especially its greatest minds, that I cannot bring myself to burn my books as the converted Magicians did, or sink them as did Prospero. There must, as I think, have been some prodigious defect in his mind, to let him hold such views as his about women and some other things; and in another respect, I find so much coldness and hollowness as to the highest truths, and feel so strongly that the Heaven he looks up to is but a vault of ice,—that these two indications, leading to the same conclusion, go far to convince me he was a profoundly immoral and irreligious spirit, with as rare faculties of intelligence as ever belonged to any one. All this may be mere *goody* weakness and twaddle, on my part: but it is a persuasion that I cannot escape from; though I should feel the doing so to be a deliverance from a most painful load. If you could help me, I heartily wish you would. I never take him up without high admiration, or lay him down without real sorrow for what he chose to be."

In illustration of our opening remark and the design of the present notice, we append Carlyle's remarks on Sterling's letters generally. They occur in connection with that on the *Sartor Resartus* from which we have quoted above, and seem to indicate that Carlyle has that in him

which in his appearance before the public he has done so much to obscure and disclaim.

"Meanwhile," he says, "these Letters do excel in honesty, in candour and transparency; their very carelessness secures their excellence in this respect. And in another much deeper and more essential respect I must likewise call them excellent,—in their childlike goodness, in the purity of heart, the noble affection and fidelity they everywhere manifest in the writer. This often touchingly strikes a familiar friend in reading them; and will awaken reminiscences (when you have the commentary in your own memory) which are sad and beautiful, and not without reproach to you on occasion. To all friends, and all good causes, this man is true; behind their back as before their face, the same man! Such traits of the autobiographic sort, from these Letters, as can serve to paint him or his life, and promise not to weary the reader, I must endeavour to select in the sequel."

From what Carlyle has selected, we shall again select a few, illustrative of the religion of Sterling and of his happy influence upon his biographer. What can be more delightful than his letter from Rome addressed to his eldest child, a boy of seven or eight years old, "in which kind of letters, more than in any other," observes Carlyle, "Sterling seems to me to excel" (p. 224). But first we shall give his true and fine impression of Rome itself, from a letter to another member of his family (p. 221).

"December 21st, 1838.—Of Rome itself, as a whole, there are infinite things to be said, well worth saying; but I shall confine myself to two remarks: first, that while the monuments and works of Art gain in wondrousness and significance by familiarity with them, the actual life of Rome, the Papacy and its pride, lose; and though one gets accustomed to Cardinals and Friars and Swiss Guards, and ragged beggars and the finery of London and Paris, all rolling on together, and sees how it is that they subsist in a sort of spurious unity, one loses all tendency to idealise the Metropolis and System of the Hierarchy into anything higher than a peace of showy stage-declamation, at bottom, in our day, thoroughly mean and prosaic. My other remark is, that Rome, seen from the tower of the Capitol, from the Pincian or the Janiculum, is at this day one of the most beautiful spectacles which eyes ever beheld. The company of great domes rising from a mass of large and solid buildings, with a few stone-pines and scattered edifices on the outskirts; the broken bare Campagna all around; the Alban Hills not far, and the purple range of Sabine Mountains in the distance with a cope of snow;—this seen in the clear air, and the whole spiritualised by endless recollections, and a sense of the grave and lofty reality of human existence which has had this place for a main theatre, fills at once the eyes and heart more forcibly, and to me delightfully, than I can find words to say."

We now give his letter to his son: apart from the reason for which we quote it, it is in itself a directory of study.

"*To Master Edward C. Sterling, Hastings.*

"Rome, January 21st, 1839.

"My dear Edward,—I was very glad to receive your Letter, which shewed me that you have learned something since I left home. If you knew how much pleasure it gave me to see your handwriting, I am sure you would take pains to be able to write well, that you might often send me letters, and tell me a great many things which I should like to know about Mamma and your Sisters as well as yourself.

"If I go to Vesuvius, I will try to carry away a bit of the lava, which you wish for. There has lately been a great eruption, as it is called, of that

Mountain; which means a great breaking out of hot ashes and fire, and of melted stones which is called lava.

"Miss Clark is very kind to take so much pains with you; and I trust you will shew that you are obliged to her, by paying attention to all she tells you. When you see how much more grown people know than you, you ought to be anxious to learn all you can from those who teach you; and as there are so many wise and good things written in Books, you ought to try to read early and carefully; that you may learn something of what God has made you able to know. There are Libraries containing very many thousands of Volumes; and all that is written in these is,—accounts of some part or other of the World which God has made, or of the thoughts which he has enabled men to have in their minds. Some Books are descriptions of the earth itself, with its rocks and ground and water, and of the air and clouds, and the stars and moon and sun, which shine so beautifully in the sky. Some tell you about the things that grow upon the ground; the many millions of plants, from little mosses and threads of grass up to great trees and forests. Some also contain accounts of living things; flies, worms, fishes, birds and four-legged beasts. And some, which are the most, are about men and their thoughts and doings. These are the most important of all; for men are the best and most wonderful creatures of God in the world; being the only ones able to know him and love him, and to try of their own accord to do his will.

"These Books about men are also the most important to us, because we ourselves are human beings, and may learn from such Books what we ought to think and to do and to try to be. Some of them describe what sort of people have lived in old times and in other countries. By reading them, we know what is the difference between ourselves in England now, and the famous nations which lived in former days. Such were the Egyptians who built the Pyramids, which are the greatest heaps of stone upon the face of the earth: and the Babylonians, who had a city with huge walls, built of bricks, having writing on them that no one in our time has been able to make out. There were also the Jews, who were the only ancient people that knew how wonderful and how good God is: and the Greeks, who were the wisest of all in thinking about men's lives and hearts, and who knew best how to make fine statues and buildings, and to write wise books. By Books also we may learn what sort of people the old Romans were, whose chief city was Rome, where I am now; and how brave and skilful they were in war; and how well they could govern and teach many nations which they had conquered. It is from Books, too, that you must learn what kind of men were our Ancestors in the Northern part of Europe, who belonged to the tribes that did the most towards pulling down the power of the Romans: and you will see in the same way how Christianity was sent among them by God, to make them wiser and more peaceful, and more noble in their minds; and how all the nations that now are in Europe, and especially the Italians and the Germans, and the French and the English, came to be what they now are.—It is well worth knowing (and it can be known only by reading) how the Germans found out the Printing of Books, and what great changes this has made in the world. And everybody in England ought to try to understand how the English came to have their Parliaments and Laws; and to have fleets that sail over all seas of the world.

"Besides learning all these things, and a great many more about different times and countries, you may learn from Books, what is the truth of God's will, and what are the best and wisest thoughts, and the most beautiful words; and how men are able to lead very right lives, and to do a great deal to better the world. I have spent a great part of my life in reading; and I hope you will come to like it as much as I do, and to learn in this way all that I know.

"But it is a still more serious matter that you should try to be obedient

and gentle; and to command your temper; and to think of other people's pleasure rather than your own, and of what you *ought* to do rather than what you *like*. If you try to be better for all you read, as well as wiser, you will find Books a great help towards goodness as well as knowledge,—and above all other Books, the Bible; which tells us of the will of God, and of the love of Jesus Christ towards God and men.

"I had a Letter from Mamma to-day, which left Hastings on the 10th of this month. I was very glad to find in it that you were all well and happy; but I know Mamma is not well,—and is likely to be more uncomfortable every day for some time. So I hope you will all take care to give her as little trouble as possible. After sending you so much advice, I shall write a little Story to divert you.—I am, my dear Boy,—Your affectionate Father,

"JOHN STERLING."

"The 'Story,'" adds Carlyle, "is lost, destroyed, as are many such which Sterling wrote, with great felicity, I am told, and much to the satisfaction of the young folk, when the humour took him."

We now give two letters from Sterling to his mother, unable to visit her in her last illness.

"*To Mrs. Sterling, Knightsbridge, London.*

"Falmouth, April 8th, 1843.

"DEAREST MOTHER,—I could do you no good, but it would be the greatest comfort to me if I could be near you. Nothing would detain me but Susan's condition. I feel that until her confinement is over, I ought to remain here,—unless you wished me to go to you; in which case she would be the first to send me off. Happily she is doing as well as possible, and seems even to gain strength every day. She sends her love to you.

"The children are all doing well. I rode with Edward to-day, through some of the pleasant lanes in the neighbourhood; and was delighted, as I have often been at the same season, to see the primroses under every hedge. It is pleasant to think that the Maker of them can make other flowers for the gardens of his other mansions. We have here a softness in the air, a smoothness of the clouds, and a mild sunshine, that combine in lovely peace with the first green of spring and the mellow whiteness of the sails upon the quiet sea. The whole aspect of the world is full of a quiet harmony, that influences even one's bodily frame, and seems to make one's very limbs aware of something living, good and immortal in all around us. Knowing how you suffer, and how weak you are, any thing is a blessing to me that helps me to rise out of confusion and grief into the sense of God and joy. I could not indeed but feel how much happier I should have been this morning, had you been with me, and delighting as you would have done in all the little as well as the large beauty of the world. But it was still a satisfaction to feel how much I owe to you of the power of perceiving meaning, reality and sweetness in all healthful life. And thus I could fancy that you were still near me; and that I could see you, as I have so often seen you, looking with earnest eyes at wayside flowers.

"I would rather not have written what must recall your thoughts to your present sufferings; but, dear Mother, I wrote only what I felt; and perhaps you would rather have it so, than that I should try to find other topics. I still hope to be with you before long. Meanwhile and always, God bless you, is the prayer of your affectionate son,

"JOHN STERLING."

"*To the Same.*

"Falmouth, April 12th, 1843.

"DEAREST MOTHER,—I have just received my Father's Letter, which gives one at least the comfort of believing that you do not suffer very much pain. That your mind has remained so clear and strong, is an infinite blessing.

"I do not know anything in the world that would make up to me at all for

wanting the recollection of the days I spent with you lately, when I was amazed at the freshness and life of all your thoughts. It brought back far-distant years, in the strangest, most peaceful way. I felt myself walking with you in Greenwich Park, and on the sea-shore at Sandgate; almost even I seemed a baby with you bending over me. Dear Mother, there is surely something uniting us that cannot perish. I seem so sure of a love which shall last and re-unite us, that even the remembrance, painful as that is, of all my own follies and ill tempers, cannot shake this faith. When I think of you, and know how you feel towards me, and have felt for every moment of almost forty years, it would be too dark to believe that we shall never meet again. It was from you that I first learnt to think, to feel, to imagine, to believe; and these powers, which cannot be extinguished, will one day enter anew into communion with you. I have bought it very dear by the prospect of losing you in this world,—but since you have been so ill, every thing has seemed to me holier, loftier and more lasting, more full of hope and final joy.

"It would be a very great happiness to see you once more even here; but I do not know if that will be granted to me. But for Susan's state, I should not hesitate an instant; as it is, my duty seems to be to remain, and I have no right to repine. There is no sacrifice that she would not make for me, and it would be too cruel to endanger her by mere anxiety on my account. Nothing can exceed her sympathy with my sorrow. But she cannot know no one can, the recollections of all you have been and done for me; which now are the most sacred and deepest, as well as most beautiful, thoughts that abide with me. May God bless you, dearest Mother. It is much to believe that He feels for you all that you have ever felt for your children.

"JOHN STERLING."

The conclusion of this letter recals a Hymn of Mrs. Barbauld's,* "Who is the Parent of the Mother?" &c.; and makes one think of the sad influences in contrast, which the Church that virtually cast out Sterling exercises on the minds of its children. How can we patiently endure the thing by which such offences come? It makes us join heartily in such passages from Carlyle in the course of his narrative, as the following:

"Speedy end to Superstition,—a gentle one if you can contrive it, but an end. What can it profit any mortal to adopt locutions and imaginations which do *not* correspond to fact; which no sane mortal can deliberately adopt in his soul as true; which the most orthodox of mortals can only, and this after infinite essentially *impious* effort to put out the eyes of his mind, persuade himself to 'believe that he believes'? Away with it; in the name of God, come out of it, all true men!"—P. 67.

"The Church, with her articles, is without relation to him. And along with obsolete spiritualisms, he sees all manner of obsolete thrones and big-wigged temporalities; and for them also can prophesy, and wish, only a speedy doom. Doom inevitable, registered in Heaven's Chancery from the beginning of days, doom unalterable as the pillars of the world; the gods are angry, and all Nature groans, till this doom of eternal justice be fulfilled."—Ibid.

"What is incredible to thee, thou shalt not, at thy soul's peril, attempt to

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* At p. 33, Carlyle has a remark upon Education instantly reminding us of Mrs. Barbauld's admirable Essay on the subject, which in these Education days all would do well to study. Carlyle's remark is—"To him and to all of us, the expressly appointed schoolmasters and schoolings we get are as nothing, compared with the unappointed, incidental and continual ones, whose school hours are all the days and nights of our existence, and whose lessons, noticed or unnoticed, stream in upon us with every breath we draw."

believe! Elsewhither for a refuge, or die here. Go to Perdition if thou must,—but not with a lie in thy mouth; by the Eternal Maker, no!"—P. 139.

But we return to Sterling's letters. Within a week of his last letter to his mother given above, he lost both her and his wife, leaving a new-born infant in a young family of six, himself too a life-long invalid, obliged to seek endurable climate in perpetual change of place. From the last of these pilgrimages, in prospect of the final departure, he writes as follows to his son:

"*To Master Edward C. Sterling, London.*

"Hillside, Ventnor, June 29th, 1844.

"My dear Boy,—We have been going on here as quietly as possible, with no event that I know of. There is nothing except books to occupy me. But you may suppose that my thoughts often move towards you, and that I fancy what you may be doing in the great City,—the greatest on the Earth,—where I spent so many years of my life. I first saw London when I was between eight and nine years old, and then lived in or near it for the whole of the next ten, and more there than anywhere else for seven years longer. Since then I have hardly ever been a year without seeing the place, and have often lived in it for a considerable time. There I grew from childhood to be a man. My little Brothers and Sisters, and since, my Mother, died and are buried there. There I first saw your Mamma, and was there married. It seems as if, in some strange way, London were a part of Me or I of London. I think of it often, not as full of noise and dust and confusion, but as something silent, grand and everlasting.

"When I fancy how you are walking in the same streets, and moving along the same river, that I used to watch so intently, as if in a dream, when younger than you are,—I could gladly burst into tears, not of grief, but with a feeling that there is no name for. Everything is so wonderful, great and holy, so sad and yet not bitter, so full of Death and so bordering on Heaven. Can you understand anything of this? If you can, you will begin to know what a serious matter our Life is; how unworthy and stupid it is to trifle it away without heed; what a wretched, insignificant, worthless creature any one comes to be, who does not as soon as possible bend his whole strength, as in stringing a stiff bow, to doing whatever task lies first before him. * * *

"We have a mist here to-day from the sea. It reminds me of that which I used to see from my house in St. Vincent, rolling over the great volcano and the mountains round it. I used to look at it from our windows with your Mamma, and you a little baby in her arms.

"This Letter is not so well written as I could wish, but I hope you will be able to read it.—Your affectionate Papa,

"John Sterling."

We have sometimes thought that a bringing together of a few of the simple and natural expressions of the feelings of men on the known approach of death would form a valuable help to the living. Some memorable instances in recent biographies suggested the thought and might supply the materials: many unrecorded instances of every-day experience might be added. Yet these expressions owe so much to the tenor of the life, that to separate them from it is to destroy half their charm and salutary influence. We are tempted by the thought, however, to quote an example incidentally narrated in the book before us, especially as it illustrates the leading design of our present notice.

"One other little event," says Carlyle, "dwells with me, out of those Falmouth times, exact date now forgotten; a pleasant little matter, in which

Sterling, and principally the Misses Fox, bright cheery young creatures, were concerned; which, for the sake of its human interest, is worth mention. In a certain Cornish mine, said the Newspapers duly specifying it, two miners deep down in the shaft were engaged putting in a shot for blasting: they had completed their affair, and were about to give the signal for being hoisted up,—one at a time was all their coadjutor at the top could manage, and the second was to kindle the match, and then mount with all speed. Now it chanced while they were both still below, one of them thought the match too long; tried to break it shorter, took a couple of stones, a flat and a sharp, to cut it shorter; did cut it of the due length, but, horrible to relate, kindled it at the same time, and both were still below! Both shouted vehemently to the coadjutor at the windlass, both sprang at the basket; the windlass man could not move it with them both. Here was a moment for poor miner Jack and miner Will! Instant horrible death hangs over both,—when Will generously resigns himself: 'Go aloft, Jack,' and sits down; 'away; in one minute I shall be in Heaven!' Jack bounds aloft, the explosion instantly follows, bruises his face as he looks over; he is safe above ground: and poor Will? Descending eagerly they find Will too, as if by miracle, buried under rocks which had arched themselves over him, and little injured: he too is brought up safe, and all ends joyfully, say the Newspapers.

"Such a piece of manful promptitude, and salutary human heroism, was worth investigating. It was investigated; found to be accurate to the letter, —with this addition and explanation, that Will, an honest, ignorant good man, entirely given up to Methodism, had been perfect in the 'faith of assurance,' certain that *he* should get to Heaven if he died, certain that Jack would not, which had been the ground of his decision in that great moment;—for the rest, that he much wished to learn reading and writing, and find some way of life above ground instead of below. By aid of the Misses Fox and the rest of that family, a subscription (modest *Anti*-Hudson testimonial) was raised to this Methodist hero: he emerged into daylight with fifty pounds in his pocket; did strenuously try, for certain months, to learn reading and writing; found he could not learn those arts or either of them; took his money and bought cows with it, wedding at the same time some religious likely milkmaid; and is, last time I heard of him, a prosperous modest dairyman, thankful for the upper light and safety from the wrath to come. Sterling had some hand in this affair: but, as I said, it was the two young ladies of the family that mainly did it."

We suspect the newspaper account was the more worthy. Common human and religious feeling in any of the sects would tell the story more justly. This man is one of the world's heroes, and his faith the grandest thing we know. It is not a thing we can be superior to, or make light of, or detract from, or colour with a shade of ridicule. We are pleased, however, that any of its light should be reflected here.

We shall advert, in conclusion, to the manifest growth of the influence of Sterling on Carlyle at the last. This is the pleasing part of our subject. It is generally thought that Sterling was moulded by Carlyle. However this may have been,—however Sterling may acknowledge it in his last letter to him, which we shall presently quote,—however Carlyle's manner may give us the idea,—yet we cannot but perceive how the higher influence in Sterling asserts itself and gains upon his friend throughout his life. It is most striking in his critique on the *Sartor*. Again it is manifest, very manifest and indubitable, by Carlyle's own showing, in two remarkable instances, viz., his account of Sterling's adherence to Poetry, and of the closing scenes and utterances of his life. Carlyle was always against Sterling's poetical efforts. Whatever

they were, we feel sure Carlyle is not the best judge of poetry; it is too much akin to religion: "We had colloquies upon it (poetry)," he says, p. 252, "which must have tried his patience, for in him there was a strong leaning the other way." What, indeed, must we think of that man's appreciation who can say (ibid.), "Had he not already gained superior excellence in delivering, by way of *speech* or prose, what thoughts were in him, which is the grand and only intrinsic function of a writing man, call him by what title you will? Cultivate that superior excellence till it become a perfect and superlative one. Why *sing* your bits of thoughts, if you *can* contrive to speak them? By your thought, not by your mode of delivering it, you must live or die." *Whom does he ignore here?* The visitation of what highest genius does he confess himself not to have known? Nor its own high *mode* of utterance? However, observe how Sterling and Poetry gained on him at last. He had observed of Sterling, p. 249, "By small-arms practice no mortal could dislodge him: but if you were in the right, the silent hours would work continually for you." So now they had worked for Sterling: Carlyle says, p. 321,

"When I think now of his modest, quiet steadfastness in this business of Poetry; how, in spite of friend and foe, he silently persisted, without wavering, in the form of utterance he had chosen for himself; and to what length he carried it, and vindicated himself against us all,—his character comes out in a new light to me, with more of a certain central inflexibility and noble silent resolution than I had elsewhere noticed in it. An honourable capacity to stand single against the whole world; such as all men need from time to time!"

But we hasten now to the closing period and utterances of his life: one of these we have already given, his Letter to his Son (p. 541), to whom, says Carlyle (p. 331), "he addressed, every day or two, sometimes daily, for eight or nine weeks, a Letter, of general paternal advice and exhortation; interspersing, sparingly, now and then, such notices of his own feelings and condition as could be addressed to a boy. These Letters I have lately read: they give, beyond any he has written, a noble image of the intrinsic Sterling;—the same face we had long known; but painted now as on the azure of Eternity, serene, victorious, divinely sad; the dust and extraneous disfigurements imprinted on it by the world, now washed away."

Delightful this, *si sic semper;* what testimony to Sterling and his power, and to the truth that Christianity itself is *a Life* amply expressive of its origin and profession! The Letters, whose image of the man so transfigure his biographer, we are told, are preserved; "and surely," it is worthily added, "well worth preserving."

A little further on (p. 333), Carlyle subsides into his usual style, unconsciously discovering, however, Sterling's hold on him.

"For courage, for active audacity, we had all known Sterling; but such a fund of mild stoicism, of devout patience and heroic composure, we did not hitherto know in him. His sufferings, his sorrows, all his unutterabilities in this slow agony, he held right manfully down; marched loyally, as at the bidding of the Eternal, into the dread Kingdoms, and no voice of weakness was heard from him. Poor noble Sterling, he had struggled so high and gained so little here! But this also he did gain, to be a brave man, and it was much."

We come now to the last most impressive picture of Sterling in contrast with Carlyle. We give it as Carlyle himself does, p. 333.

"One other Letter I must give; not quite the last message I had from Sterling, but the last that can be inserted here; a brief Letter, fit to be for ever memorable to the receiver of it:

"*To Thomas Carlyle, Esq., Chelsea, London.*

"Hillside, Ventnor, August 10th, 1844.

"My dear Carlyle,—For the first time for many months it seems possible to send you a few words; merely, however, for Remembrance and Farewell. On higher matters there is nothing to say. I tread the common road into the great darkness, without any thought of fear, and with very much of hope. Certainty indeed I have none. With regard to You and Me I cannot begin to write; having nothing for it but to keep shut the lid of those secrets with all the iron weights that are in my power. Towards me it is still more true than towards England that no man has been and done like you. Heaven bless you! If I can lend a hand when THERE, that will not be wanting. It is all very strange, but not one hundredth part so sad as it seems to the standers-by.

"Your Wife knows my mind towards her, and will believe it without asseverations.

"Yours to the last,

"John Sterling."

"It was a bright Sunday morning when this Letter came to me: if in the great Cathedral of Immensity I did no worship that day, the fault surely was my own. Sterling affectionately refused to see me; which also was kind and wise. And four days before his death, there are some stanzas of verse for me, written as if in star-fire and immortal tears; which are among my sacred possessions, to be kept for myself alone."

This is very striking. We know not how Sterling's feelings in the prospect of death may be regarded by men in general. Many, perhaps, will deem their hope sufficient. We could have wished for, and think an uninjured Christian faith, in such a conjuncture, supplies more. All must mourn over the injurious system that in his case prevented more. We feel persuaded, however, that Sterling had more than is here expressed to Carlyle. He could not discover it to him as to another. How differently he writes to his mother and his son! There was an iron weight on the secret: his friend was too much of a stranger still, to intermeddle with its joy. No man had done towards him in some great respects as he; but in the greatest of all, he asks Heaven's blessing, and if permitted will be its minister. He could avail more *there* than here! May we not so interpret these last conjunctures of Sterling with Carlyle? Do not those inviolable stanzas so interpret them? And beautiful and striking as are Carlyle's descriptions of the relations and states of mind into which he is brought by his intercourse with Sterling, we still feel there is a want; we are obliged to confess that in his most religious moments he leaves us without an Object of religious affection; there is too much gloom and fear, too little faith and trust; the temple is there, and, it may be, the worship; but all we are conscious of are the Immensities and Eternities; our own better faith must supply the Deity himself. The impersonal still clings to him even when speaking of "the Eternal" and "Supreme," or even of "the Highest." It is an unutterable relief, therefore, whenever Sterling's happier faith is reflected on his biographer; when he is spoken of as *a Son;* when

Carlyle says, "Doubtless in so clear and filial a heart there must have dwelt the perennial feeling of silent worship" (p. 339). It is an inexpressible satisfaction if we may interpret the insensible influence of religious minds upon powerful minds not religious, as the precursor of some restoration of faith at the present moment. If Sterling shall have aided in this, greater will have been his work than that of his friend. Greater indeed! With the decline of faith, faith in a living God, all truth in man gives way, as, we fear, the picture of our times, from the Government, Church, Universities, Press, through many ranks and professions, is a melancholy proof. If this decline of faith go on, we shall soon be left without God and without hope in the world.

"Here, visible to myself, for some while," Carlyle concludes Sterling's Life, "was a brilliant human presence, distinguishable, honourable and lovable amid the dim common populations; among the million little beautiful, once more a beautiful human soul: whom I, among others, recognised and lovingly walked with, while the years and the hours were. Sitting now by his tomb in thoughtful mood, the new times bring a new duty for me. 'Why write the Life of Sterling?' I imagine I had a commission higher than the world's, the dictate of Nature herself, to do what is now done. *Sic prosit.*"

We will interpret the dictate in the words of Cicero:* "*Haud scio, an pietate adversus deos sublata, fides etiam, et societas generis humani et una excellentissima virtus, justitia tollatur.*"

R.

CHARGE OF HERESY AT BRIGHTON.†

A FASHIONABLE watering-place is not the spot where, generally speaking, we should look for examples of that earnestness of mind, independence of thought, and fearlessness of spirit, which will not be enthralled by authorized custom, nor guided by the oracle of human opinion, in the solemn concerns which pertain to religious faith and duty, but will, at all hazards, seek for truth, and regard only the voice of God and of conscience in its maintenance and avowal. We are, however, living in an age of marvels! And at *Brighton*, many of our readers will probably be surprised to learn, there has been the singular exhibition, within the last few weeks, of the trial of a minister of the gospel, by his Presbytery, under the charge of heresy, and his deposition from all the functions of his sacred office. The circumstances connected with this remarkable case are particularly interesting to Unitarian believers, because they afford another example of the spread of some of their most cherished views, in a direction where it would be least expected. We shall not be able to record in our pages the whole of the proceedings in relation to this ecclesiastical tribunal. But it shall be our endeavour to give a concise and faithful account of the lengthened investigation which it instituted, and of the decision to which it came.

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* De Nat. Deor. I. 2.

† Defence and Letter of Resignation by the Rev. A. J. Ross, late Minister of Hanover Presbyterian Church, Brighton. Appended is the Libel of the Presbytery. London: Arthur Hall, Virtue & Co. 1852.

It appears, then, that some months ago, the Rev. A. J. Ross, the pastor of Hanover Presbyterian Church, Brighton, and connected, we believe, with the Free Church of Scotland, was accused of having embraced opinions on the subject of the Inspiration of Scripture which the great mass of Protestant Christians do not consider orthodox. An inquiry was made by means of letters and personal intercourse, in order to ascertain what sentiments he really held on this and on other doctrines concerning which, from certain statements made by him in the pulpit and in private conversation, there was some considerable doubt, in certain minds, of his soundness. There would not appear to have been any dissatisfaction expressed, at least to any extent, by Mr. Ross's congregation. His services were eminently acceptable to his people, and he was labouring with much success. But there were some few lovers of the Westminster Confession of Faith amongst his hearers. They knew he had solemnly subscribed to its doctrines at his ordination, and could not reconcile the tone of his preaching with either its letter or its spirit. To them there could be no gospel where the principles of their formularies were not exhibited as they had been unfolded by the fathers and founders of their churches. It seemed to them that their pastor had on several vital points departed from their authorized standards. There was at least something very suspicious in the tone of his discourses. He might continue the use of certain scriptural phrases associated in the public mind with popular systems. But he employed them, it was contended, in a sense totally different from the meaning generally attached to them, a sense that could not be reconciled with those doctrines which the Church of Scotland, whether Free or Established, proclaimed as the essential verities of the gospel. A memorial was at length presented to the Presbytery, urging the importance of making inquisition into the religious principles which were taught by Mr. Ross, and a Committee was immediately appointed for this purpose. The result was, that he failed to satisfy them of his orthodoxy, and that they presented a report, which led the Presbytery to agree in serving what is called a "libel" on him, in conformity with the practice usually adopted. In this "libel" he was said to hold, profess and promulgate "false and unsound doctrines," the teaching of which was declared to be "a heinous sin, and severely censurable." We are not left in any doubt as to the doctrines thus denounced. Mr. Ross is accused of having professed and enforced the following tenets:

1. That in God there is no wrath towards sinners, and that he does not need to be reconciled towards them.

2. That the justice of God is identical with his righteousness, and is a moral attribute which requires only, and will be satisfied only with, moral obedience, or the active performance of his commandments; and that punitive justice towards sinners, and towards the Lord Jesus Christ, as their Mediator and Substitute, is not in God, and has not been manifested by God, in the economy of redemption.

3. That the guilt of Adam's first sin was not imputed to his posterity; and that sin does not bring guilt upon the soul in such a sense, that the sinner is thereby bound over, exposed, and made liable to the judicial infliction of punishment by God as a just Judge and Sovereign.

4. That the sins of his people were not imputed to the Lord Jesus Christ, and that he did not, in their room and stead, suffer the judicial

infliction of the punishment due to their sins; and that he did not by his sufferings make atonement for their sins, or render satisfaction to God's justice in their room or on their behalf; and that he did not purchase or procure for his redeemed people reconciliation or propitiation with God; but that God, of mere love, without any objective or external provision or condition moving him thereunto, when men have nothing to pay, frankly forgives their iniquities.

5. That the purpose and effect of Christ's sufferings and death, viewed as relating to sinners, were merely subjective; that is, were to remove our enmity towards God, to subdue our sins, and induce us to become reconciled to God.

A meeting was held at Brighton in order that the charges contained in the "libel" might be duly investigated, and that Mr. Ross might have an opportunity of meeting and refuting them, if it were in his power. It was an occasion, we can well imagine, of great excitement. A trial for alleged heresy is not an every-day occurrence. At no very distant period, our laws degraded a man on account of his dissent from established creeds. And even now, alas! it is no unusual thing for his neighbours to look coldly on him, or to avoid him as a dangerous person, in consequence of his supposed theological unsoundness. But the arraignment of a faithful and devoted pastor, on the ground of a departure from the truth, is so unusual an exhibition in this country, that it was not likely to have been disregarded by those who are friendly to church authority and interested in polemical discussion. The proceedings took place in Mr. Ross's chapel, which was crowded by members of his own congregation, and by others, among whom were several of the clergy of the Church of England. A psalm having been sung,* the Moderator, with singular infelicity, surely, at such a time, read that solemn and most impressive exhortation to fidelity given by Paul in the fourth chapter of his Second Epistle to Timothy. A prayer was then offered; after which Mr. Ross was asked whether he had any answer to make to the charge which had been brought against him. His Defence is now before us, and though we sympathize with him most completely in his desire that he and his people should be "freed from all traditions of men," and able to "worship Him who is a Spirit in spirit and in truth," we are bound to confess, after a serious consideration of what he has put forth, that we cannot wonder at the course pursued by his Presbyterian brethren, nor differ from them in their judgment as to his departure from the faith contained in the articles to which he had assented as a condition of entering on the ministry which he had exercised amongst them. When he affirms that our divisions will increase, and be our plague, confusion and curse, until we cease to bind men together by bonds of our own creation,—until we recognize the sublime but simple truth that Christ, and not our feelings or carnal notions, is the only ground of real church fellowship,—he utters our own sentiments. When, again, he says, "The priest on the one hand, and the pedant on the other, have sorely bereaved us of the simplicity which is in Christ Jesus; the priest putting a sacrament, the pedant a

* Our information respecting this meeting, when we have not obtained it from the published Defence of the Rev. A. J. Ross, has been gathered from the *Christian Times* of July 2, 1852.

system, in the room of the living Redeemer, who is himself the alone way of life,"—we mourn with him that such a lamentable state of things should so largely prevail throughout Christendom. But the question which this Synod was convened to determine was, not whether it is expedient or necessary that there should be creeds or confessions, but whether Mr. Ross agreed with the doctrines embodied in those standards which his Church acknowledged, and which he had engaged to teach. He had evidently, however, persuaded himself that he was still in accordance with the Westminster Confession, and that it was a help to him in the exercise of his ministry.

"By its constant reference to the Bible, I had concluded that I was not to subject the teachings of the Scriptures to its authority; but, on the contrary, that I was to bring its own assertions to a higher standard. But it seems now that in this conclusion I was wrong. I must, it seems, convert articles, which were means of deliverance, into chains of bondage;—Westminster is to take the place of Trent. The Confession, which proclaimed a common bond, is now, by you, made an instrument of division. Instead of emancipating us from the tyranny of notions, it is made to shut us up within them; or to separate one who, while acknowledging it as a mean, will not recognize it as a master."*

Now with all our dislike of creeds and their accompaniments, we should be rejoiced could we think that the Confession to which Mr. Ross alludes in this passage could be fairly regarded as he represents it. But it is now by our side, and we have again carefully examined what it teaches, in relation to the doctrines of God's moral government, to substitution, and the atonement, and it is certainly in direct opposition, as it appears to us, with those views which Mr. Ross is at present engaged in asserting and defending. We do not question his sincerity when he declares that he has expressed no objection to any portion of its contents. We know from experience how painful a thing it is to be severed from the religious communion in which one has been educated, and from valued friends whose love and sympathy and co-operation were greatly valued. We can enter into his feelings when he observes that he was "born in a Scotch manse," and that he is "bound to Presbyterianism by the tenderest associations," and can readily understand that he should have desired, if possible, to remain connected with it, and still enjoy unshackled freedom in pursuing his religious inquiries and avowing his own convictions. All this may have operated to prevent full consistency of thought and action. We see not how the interpretation which he puts upon the statements of the Confession is to be justified, and sure we are it would be repudiated by its framers, could they now speak, as well as by the general consent of the churches which have received it. True it is, the Westminster divines *say*, that "the supreme judge by which all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other than the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture." The same thing is affirmed in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. And so it would be maintained by the leaders of all the orthodox sects into which Protestantism is

* Defence, pp. 5, 6.

divided. But, properly understood, it means the sufficiency of Scripture as understood by *them*. Inconsistent as it is with the right of private judgment in matters of religion for which they loudly contend, they all fetter the mind by creeds, in the vain endeavour to produce uniformity of opinion. Unitarians are the only body of believers who do not make the reception of some particular system of doctrines necessary to the enjoyment of church fellowship, but are satisfied with the simple, rational and scriptural test of doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with God. We will venture to say that there is not another body of Christians by which Mr. Ross would be received as a brother in Christ Jesus. The fact is, that he has departed much further from the popular faith than he himself would probably be ready to admit. Without being conscious of it, he has by his own study and reflection arrived at conclusions on several most important subjects very similar to those by which Unitarians are distinguished. He is accused, for example, of holding, with them, that "God does not need to be propitiated or reconciled towards sinners." And he replies,—

"Of this sin, as you term it, I admit that I am guilty. In the sense that something was done, or suffered, which had virtue to alter the Divine Mind or Will, I cannot admit the doctrine of reconciliation. Such doctrine I never meet with in the Word of God. I read on the contrary, that Christ came, not to change, but to *do* the will of his Father, and that God was in Christ, not reconcil*ed*, but reconcil*ing* the world unto himself."*

A living preacher, supposed to be Dr. Cumming, had spoken of the sacrifice of Christ as having "touched the deep spot of anger in the Father's bosom." And in referring to the passage, Mr. Ross did not hesitate to express his disapproval of its tone and sentiment. This was one of the items of the crimination. He was heard to say that such representations had often impressed him with the danger of sending missionaries to the heathen, and that they were not in accordance with Christianity. And he boldly avows that such is his deliberate conviction.

"To teach such doctrine to the heathen would be only calling upon them to exchange for 'gods many,' dark and malignant, one in whom all the darkness and malignity are concentrated. I understand that missionaries are to go into all the world, and preach that 'God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish,' ....but that anger, or fury, was or could be appeased by the blood of an innocent being, is the very evil thought of the heathen. They need not to be taught that, but to be delivered from its frightful thraldom. They need to be awakened to the truth that God is light,—that wrath, malice, hatred, revenge, have not been planted in us by our Maker, but by the spirit of lies and murder. Such, and such only, was the ground on which I expressed myself, or may have expressed myself, on the occasion alluded to, with reference to Christian missions. The Church *has* a mission to every creature under heaven: for the 'head of every man is Christ.' I was only testifying my anxiety about the message."†

Another charge against Mr. Ross was that of teaching that "the justice of God is identical with his righteousness." He meets it by observing,

"Of this sin, if it be such, I am verily guilty. Surely His justice is not identical with *un*righteousness! Surely that could not be justice in Him,

* Defence, p. 6. † Defence, p. 8.

which it would be injustice in us to imitate or aim after. If our idea of justice has not its root in God, would not our morality become groundless, or a senseless accident; our conscience a lie; certainty an anomaly?.... You say that it is a sin '*that I hold that the justice of God requires only a moral obedience.*' . . . I have said that '*His righteousness can be satisfied only by a moral obedience,*' and I beg simply to keep by my own phraseology.* But does any man maintain that anything other, anything less, than moral obedience, by which I mean the living surrender of heart and will to absolute righteousness, could be satisfactory to a righteous being? Is not our morality based on the eternal distinction between manhood and mere machinery,—between persons and things? The spirit of Moloch could be satisfied with suffering,—the infernalized spirit of a Grand Inquisitor could be so satisfied;—any spirit could be whose maxim is, 'I'll have my revenge,' or 'pound of flesh;' and the spirit of Mammon could be satisfied with *so* much money; but could the heart of any human father, without ceasing to be a human heart, accept of any *thing* as a substitute for the contrition and return to ways of love and obedience of a prodigal boy? Would any amount of bodily torture prolonged through a millennium be satisfactory? Is chastisement inflicted simply to give relief to, and so to satisfy, tempestuous wrath? Or is it a mean to a very different end, even to the end of reclaiming the child? Or could a parent ever take in exchange for the health of his child's soul so much money? Or could he ever look upon himself with entire feelings of complacency, or so look on one, still disobedient, because he had scourged another for his offence? Were that morality? Were that justice? Surely no one would dare to say so!"†

Mr. Ross is asked whether he denies that the death of Christ is of the nature of an atonement? And he distinctly affirms that he does *not*, understanding the word atonement in the sense which we ourselves should adopt,—not as a something done and endured on the part of the Son to make the Father loving, to obtain that which the Father was unwilling or unable to grant; but as the manifestation of Divine mercy, the fruit of Divine compassion, and the great object

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* Mr. Ross considers that whilst he adheres to the statement that Christ was not substituted in the room of sinners, to *make* God propitious, there is a sense in which he can say "that the propitiation accomplished by Christ was a, was the *satisfaction* to the Divine will." "It was a satisfaction," he remarks, "in the deepest, the moral significance of the word, that in the face of the man Christ Jesus,—in all his life, in his death,—God did see the full-orbed reflection of his glorious grace. He gave himself 'an offering to God of a sweet-smelling savour.' God forbid that I should tarnish the glory of these wondrous words. Nothing less could satisfy God. On nothing less could he look with entire complacency than on that sacrifice of love offered up by Jesus Christ." Now there is a sense in which we too could speak of the "*satisfaction of Christ*" in the same language. But then we know that this is not *the idea* usually attached to the word. It clearly has no such signification as employed in the Westminster Confession. And for ourselves we have no love of ambiguous phrases in connection with religious doctrines. If we differ from our brethren around us, we should let it be clearly understood in what that difference consists. The sooner and the more faithfully error is exposed, the better. Mr. Ross will do no good by any attempt to make his opinions concerning the mission and death of Christ look like the popular faith, by employing the popular phraseology respecting them. We are sure he has no wish to do this, and we are sorry that he should lay himself open to the accusation of using words constantly seen in the works of so-called orthodox preachers and writers with a particular meaning, in a totally different sense from that commonly assigned to them.

† Defence, pp. 11, 12.

of which is to elevate and sanctify the soul, to bring men nigh to their Maker from whom they have wandered, to redeem them from the power of sin, and to lead them to follow the Saviour's blessed example of purity, submission, piety and obedience. When the heart, once alienated from God, living without him in the world, seeking not his favour, rendering him no tribute of thanksgiving, and feeling no sense of its dependence, is so touched by the mighty truths of the gospel, or by the contemplation of the life and sufferings of Christ, that it becomes penitent, and humble, and prayerful, and unselfish, and spiritual, and holy, the at-one-ment is received. The disciple becomes like the Master. The erring child feels that the chains of worldliness or guilt which bound him have been removed, and that it is now his supreme desire that the Father's will should rule over every inward principle and every outward action.

Mr. Ross, in common with many others who have come out from professedly orthodox churches, bears his solemn testimony to the injurious influence exerted by the popular doctrine respecting the mission and death of Jesus. We are constrained to believe that there is much truth in his words when he says, that "there is no more prolific source of infidelity* in this land of ours, than is to be found in the misrepresentations" of the nature and design of Christ's ministry and sufferings; and that, as generally regarded by those around us, there is a departure from the teaching of Scripture, and the adoption of "a theory which can find no response, except from a hollow, heartless logic, against which every child-like heart must vehemently protest." With regard to the cry that had been raised against him of not unfolding in his sermons the true efficacy of the blood of Christ, he rightly observes,

"It falls to me, as a minister of Jesus Christ, to *proclaim* his finished work, only taking care that in my proclamation I do not add words of my own, or of Anselm, or of Thomas Aquinas, or of any other man, and so bring a curse and confusion upon my own soul. For assuredly I should be adding words of my own or of other men, if when I say, 'Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world,' I should add, 'that is, the sins of a few Jews and Gentiles,'—or, 'Behold one bringing about a change in the Divine will,'—or, 'Behold the only sinless one who is the object of the measureless complacency of his Father, at the same time the object of an entirely antagonistic regard, enduring, as men say, the wrath of God."†

The third charge against Mr. Ross was, that of "holding and pro-

* We have had several opportunities lately of hearing from persons who have been long perplexed by the common doctrine of atonement,—but are now happily rejoicing in more satisfactory and scriptural views of the mission and death of Christ,—how often it leads to the utter rejection of Christianity. The representations which it gives of the character and government of God, are so opposed to the best dictates of the human heart, so contrary to nature and reason, that many minds, finding it impossible to rest in them, and not knowing that there are more just and cheering ideas of the gospel, turn away from it altogether. Were Unitarians fully aware, it was said to us recently by a convert from this state of mind, of the blessing they would confer upon thousands who are longing for a rational and settled religious faith, by their scriptural doctrines, they would labour in season and out of season to give light to multitudes who, though dwelling amidst the rays of the sun of righteousness, are still sitting in the saddest darkness.

† Defence, pp. 14, 15.

mulgating" the doctrine that the guilt of Adam's first sin was not imputed to his posterity. And there can be no question that he has also relinquished the faith of the Confession on this subject, as our readers, we think, will admit when they have perused the following sentences:

"I abide by the Word of the righteous God, and there I never read that the sin of one man is imputed to the countless millions of his posterity; that they come into the world doomed to eternal perdition because of that act; obliged to keep a law which is spiritual, yet, without help, dragged down into continual transgression of it, in virtue of this imputation. I read, on the contrary, that in one we are 'set down' sinners; that the creature, separate from God, sinks into death.....I confess that my soul is weary of legal fictions. The sense of real evil is too crushing to be satisfied by the mere exterior theory. The 51st Psalm contains the cry, and groans, and agony of one whose evil is felt to be all his own, and who can find no escape but in the cry—not, 'Remove some imaginary abstraction,' but, 'Pardon mine iniquities;' 'Create within me a clean heart,' 'Renew a right spirit within me.'.... Sin belongs to the will. It is in the proper sense of the word 'original.'.... As soon shall a man suffer from an imputed fever, or fall from an imputed blow, as be a sinner by imputation."*

The next count in the indictment declares that Mr. Ross has taught that "the sins of his people were not imputed to the Lord Jesus." And certainly it is not without foundation: he has evidently given up the common doctrine likewise on this point. That Jesus was the man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, because of human transgression, he says he does indeed believe.

"But that he was 'smitten of God,' or punished, was the evil thought of the men of a former day, and one which I reject. His connection with those, —with the weakness, sins, burdens of those whom he came to save,—was, as it seems to me, of a far deeper, closer kind than the word 'impute' involves; while, at the same time, his absolute sinlessness is as the very anchor of our souls."†

From these extracts a fair impression may be obtained of the nature of Mr. Ross's Defence, and of the religious opinions he has adopted. He tells his Presbyterian brethren who sat in judgment upon his doctrine, that he had not sought the severance from them which he foresaw would be the result of the position in which he was placed. But we see not how he could have consistently remained in connection with them, even if no steps had been taken for his expulsion; nor do we see, as we have before intimated, that his real beliefs and teachings were to any extent misrepresented. His own statements and admissions fully prove that his views in several important particulars are opposed to the Calvinistic theology. And it would have been strange indeed if he had been allowed by his Presbytery to remain a minister of their Church.‡

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* Defence, pp. 16, 17. † Defence, p. 18.

‡ Mr. Ross undoubtedly charges the Free Church of Scotland with permitting considerations of expediency to have their weight, as to the circumstances under which its doctrines should be unreservedly taught. One of its members, he states, said on the platform of the General Assembly, that it would not do to preach "*glum*" Calvinism in the sunny South. And well does he observe, in reference to such temporizing conduct, which deserves every Christian man's scorn,—"If glum Calvinism is the truth of God, it must be as good for England as for Scotland. If the truth of God, how dare we keep it back? If

A minister who has given up the doctrines of vicarious atonement, and imputed sin and righteousness, and election and reprobation, can find no appropriate place amongst those who hold these doctrines to be vital truths of Christianity. And if *they* did not put him out of their synagogue, *he* must surely, consistently, seek some other sphere for the exercise of his functions. The Presbytery in this instance decided that the charges with reference to Mr. Ross were properly made; and it only remained, of course, to enter upon the proof, and proceed judicially against him. A meeting for this purpose was appointed; but before it was held he determined to withdraw from the contest, and to separate himself from the Presbytery, their Church and its connection. This resolution was communicated to the reverend Moderator, at the urgent request of Mr. Ross's congregation. They besought him to preach the gospel to them in circumstances in which he would be at liberty, without the interference of man, to declare the whole counsel of God,—a call which, coming from those who had for years waited on his ministry, he did not refuse.*

This step would not seem to have been anticipated. It was expected that Mr. Ross would submit with meekness to the jurisdiction and the discipline of his brethren of the Presbytery, who had evidently no wish to be deprived of the opportunity of visiting him with ecclesiastical censure and punishment. The reverend body were indignant at his refusal to appear before them, and decided, notwithstanding, that he should be formally summoned. No attention was paid to the citation, for, having resigned his office, he was not required to obey it. That the Presbytery should complain against him for preaching in their Church doctrines at variance with their standards, was perfectly consistent; and we think it would have been far better if he had withdrawn at an earlier period. But having come out from amongst them, not for the purpose of escaping their condemnation, but because he saw how impossible it was to remain, and bear unrestrained and faithful witness to what he conceived to be the truth, he was clearly beyond their control; and they knew that their decision, whatever it might be, could not affect him, or hinder him from proclaiming what he believed to be the pure gospel. To us, therefore, the conduct of the Presbytery appears undignified and spiteful, subsequent to Mr. Ross's resignation. Happy is it for him that he is living in a country

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we are for ever to abide, not by the Confession as interpreted by Scripture, but by the hardest construction of its literalities, let us preach to mothers in England, as in Scotland, of elect infants dying in infancy. Let us not dare to comfort one in sorrow, except with a vague peradventure. Let us distinctly declare that we have no gospel for children; that we have nothing but the certain imputation of certain guilt on the one hand, and the mere hazard of salvation on the other. According to the Confession, we may not say, 'of such is the kingdom of heaven,' but only, 'of a few.' And if any one dare to whisper of justice, let us try to silence the witness for God's eternal righteousness which he has placed in our heart and conscience, by a perversion of the words of an ancient prophet, in which it is announced that 'His ways are not as our ways.' Let us say that 'His ways, instead of being the rule of unstained purity, after which we are to model our own, furnish us with no precedents for the guidance of our own.' And let us contentedly wonder what unheard-of meaning the words can bear, 'Be ye therefore perfect, as your Father in heaven is perfect.'"—*Defence*, p. 19.

* Letter appended to Defence, p. 21.

where religious liberty is too well understood to permit bishops, synods, or magistrates, to inflict punishment for dissent from orthodox Confessions! The spirit which prevailed in the Presbytery at Hanover Church, shews how dangerous it would be to entrust such a body with power over those who imbibe what they conceive to be heretical sentiments. We cannot, it is plain, even now, too sacredly guard the right of free inquiry, which allows every man to read and interpret the Bible for himself, and which, properly understood, is the enemy of bigotry and intolerance, from all priestly interference. After some deliberation, it was unanimously agreed that Mr. Ross should be "deposed from the office of the holy ministry," and prohibited from exercising the same, "under the pain of the highest censure of the Church." This was done in the usual form, and the proceedings terminated.

But Mr. Ross is not silenced. He now conducts divine worship, we believe, in one of the largest rooms of the Town Hall at Brighton, supported by a very considerable portion of his congregation, and listened to from week to week by many who gather round him to hear from his own lips what is the doctrine which he preaches. The strongest testimony has been borne to his integrity of mind; and he is held, we are informed, in high estimation by his brethren, and in the town where he resides. He is the son of a Scotch Presbyterian minister, and was brought up at the feet of the celebrated Dr. Chalmers. His change of opinion, and the manner in which he has spoken of some of the leading doctrines of the Church of which he has been for many years a minister, have occasioned much astonishment. The result, we cannot doubt, will be favourable to the progress of pure Christianity. We have no wish to claim Mr. Ross as a convert to our faith. He is very anxious, indeed, that he should not be considered a Unitarian. And assuredly he is not *altogether* such as we are. He has been evidently seeking to know the truth, and is at present in a state of transition in regard to his religious opinions. We should judge from some of his remarks that he has but little knowledge of Unitarianism, as is too frequently the case with the men of the school in which he has been educated. He still avows his belief in the Trinity and the Deity of Christ. But, with the freedom he now enjoys, he is not likely to remain long at his present stand-point. The diligent study of the New Testament, apart from the influence of creeds and the bondage of sectarianism, will shew him that there is even less scriptural evidence in support of the Trinity, and of the Godhead of Christ, than for the common theory of atonement,—and that as there is to the Christian but one God, so that one God is the Father only. The views he has already embraced, though he may not perceive it, logically and necessarily involve others to which he will ultimately be led. His Presbyterian brethren declare that they are prepared to prove by citations from standard works of our theologians, that his representations of the atonement and other kindred doctrines are those maintained by Unitarian believers. They might easily establish the assertion.* Unitarians, it is true, have not been accustomed to

* The Rev. W. Chambers said at the last meeting of the Presbytery, that there was a marked coincidence between the views of Mr. Ross and those of Dr.

speak of the atonement precisely as Mr. Ross does. It has been their habit, indeed, when dwelling on it, to abstain very generally from the use of certain phraseology designated evangelical, even when it is scriptural, lest they should be misunderstood. But their *idea* of the atonement is precisely that asserted by Mr. Ross. In *substance*, they would agree with him in what he says respecting the *relation* of the ministry and the cross of Christ to human transgression and to the pardon of sin. The ground of their difference with those around them concerning the work and death of the Saviour, is just that which Mr. Ross has taken. Two leading views of our Lord's sacrifice have been truly said to divide the Christian world. The question at issue is, Did he reconcile God to man, or man to God? Did he turn the Divine favour towards us, purchase his love, procure his mercy, enable him in any way to forgive,—or, did he live, and teach, and suffer, and die, to lead us to our Heavenly Father, to save us from sin, and to unite us to God, as dear children, here, and to bring us to the bliss and glory of heaven hereafter? This, in few words, is the question to be decided. Unitarians think, with Mr. Ross, that Jesus did *not* come upon his blessed mission to change the mind or will of God; but, on the contrary, that the mission of the Son was the effect of the compassion of the Father, who is ever "waiting to be gracious," and "willeth not the death of a sinner, but would rather that all should come unto him and live." This is the doctrine of John:* "Herein is love; not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins." This is the doctrine of Paul,† who distinctly says that "all things are of God, who has reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation." This is the doctrine of Peter:‡ "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, according to *his abundant mercy*, hath begotten us again to a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, to an inheritance undefiled and incorruptible." This is the doctrine which the apostles were taught by the Master, who plainly declared in his parables and discourses, that he came from God on an errand of mercy,—not to make *Him* propitious, but to make *men* holy, to call sinners to repentance, and to assure the most guilty of forgiveness on the conditions prescribed in the gospel. No language can more distinctly set forth the great truth that human salvation is to be traced primarily to the free grace of God, than that which we find in the Scriptures. Nor is there a single passage to be found in the Bible

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Taylor, of Norwich, "the leading Unitarian of his day." "Mr. Ross may speak," he goes on to observe, "of the atonement, and declare that he holds that doctrine,—but Dr. Taylor could do, and did do, the same." Mr. Chambers was unquestionably right. There can be no doubt that Unitarians have always professed their belief in the Scripture doctrine of atonement, or reconciliation,—which the word properly means, whilst they have rejected the Calvinistic view on this great subject. It appears, however, that Mr. Chambers obtained his knowledge of Dr. Taylor's sentiments from certain quotations in the work of Archbishop Magee on the atonement. We would suggest to him the desirableness of not trusting too implicitly the representations of Magee, and to read for himself, from Dr. Taylor's own pages, what he has written on this subject.

* 1 John iv. 10. † 2 Cor. v. 18. ‡ 1 Peter i. 3, 4.

which may not be interpreted in harmony with this doctrine. The notion of a vicarious atonement has been inferred chiefly from those strong and figurative representations of our Lord's death which were borrowed from Eastern modes of speech and from Jewish phraseology. When properly regarded, they are instructive and beautiful, but they were never designed to be literally understood. In no verse or chapter of the New Testament is it directly stated, that Jesus died to satisfy the justice of God, or to bear the guilt and punishment of the wicked. The first preachers of the gospel proclaimed salvation in the name of Christ, shewed the unspeakable value and importance of the work he performed in the ministry of reconciliation, gloried in his cross, and taught that we have redemption through his blood. But all our spiritual blessings are ascribed by them to the Father, who sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world, and of whom and through whom are all things. The more we consider this subject, the stronger does our conviction become, that a calm and candid study of the language of holy writ must lead to this conclusion. We therefore rejoice in the evidences which come to us from various quarters, that thoughtful minds are directing their attention to this subject, and discovering that the free mercy and boundless benevolence of God is a fundamental principle of the gospel, and that no doctrine which is opposed to it can be true and divine. The number, we believe, is rapidly increasing amongst reputed orthodox sects,* of those who cannot regard the death and sacrifice of Christ as the endurance of a penalty, or as the payment of a debt, or as an expedient introduced into the Divine government, without which neither the authority of God's law could have been upheld, nor the sinner pardoned. They may not take our name. They may not unite with us in our worship. But, without intending it, they are witnesses to the truth of those just and rational conceptions of Christianity in whose prospects we are deeply interested, and whose progress we hold to be intimately connected with the cause of pure religion and of human happiness and improvement. It is a remarkable fact that wherever the Scriptures have been candidly and intelligently studied, free from the impositions of men, the tendency has been to the adoption of views similar to those which are now designated Unitarian. If the success of our denominational efforts have not been so decided as could be desired, there is ample proof afforded in the history of opinion during the last half-

* The *Record* makes express reference to Mr. Robertson, a clergyman of the Church of England, in Brighton, and complains that, unchecked and unchallenged by his diocesan, he preaches, in a kindred spirit to that of Mr. Ross, that the popular idea of an atoning sacrifice by Jesus Christ is derived from heathenism. We have ourselves been informed by those who have attended the ministry of Mr. Robertson, that his sentiments on the atonement very nearly resemble those held by our own body, and that he speaks of Christ "much as an Unitarian of warmer temperament would do, when dwelling on the spiritual union of the Son with the Father." But, whether from ignorance of Unitarianism, or because he is afraid of being deemed heretical, we cannot tell, we are told that no one can be more loud in his warnings or severe in his denunciations against Unitarians. We trust that temporal expediency in no degree enters into his consideration in pursuing this course. But "being defamed, we entreat," and with the apostle Paul would say, so that Christ is preached, therein we do rejoice, and will rejoice.

century, that the labours of wise, good, and learned men amongst us have not been without important results upon the state of thought and feeling in other communions. At present, indeed, the spread of our *principles* is more observable in the progress towards Unitarianism from *without*, than in the positive increase to be witnessed *within* our own churches. And we have sometimes thought that Christianity may, in this way, be restored to its original purity by the gradual return of individual thinkers, and of bodies of believers of every sect and name, to the truth as it is in Jesus. Those forms and opinions will pass away which are opposed to the spirit and the teaching of Christ, through the calm and healthful influences of free but earnest inquiry, of scriptural investigation in a devotional spirit, and of a sincere desire for a faith which shall approve itself to the mind, fill the heart, and satisfy the affections. Such influences Unitarians are especially called on to encourage and promote. They are eminently favourable, as experience shews, to the diffusion of doctrines which are dear to them; and their effect must be good in producing those enlightened, personal convictions, and that sense of individual duty and responsibility, which alone can lead to labours and sacrifices by which the world, under the Divine blessing, will be ultimately evangelized. There are times, unquestionably, when fidelity to conscience and to God requires that we should not only bear our testimony, without reserve, on behalf of what we think right, but zealously, and in the spirit of that love which is kind, contend against what we hold to be false and injurious in the faith and worship of our fellow-men. Archdeacon Hare observes,* that we cannot uphold the truth unless we expose the errors which would supplant it. And since we are unable *infallibly* to pronounce what *is* truth, we have only to display, humbly and sincerely, the light vouchsafed to us, and to confide in God, as we safely may, that He will finally cause the gospel in all its primitive power and purity to prevail.

We will add but one word in conclusion. And it shall be to express our earnest hope that Mr. Ross, whose health we regret to find has suffered in the severe struggle through which he has passed, may have mental and physical energy to pursue his inquiries and labours, and that he may be the instrument, under the blessing of God, of bringing many to a knowledge of the truth, who will also be found in the ways of righteousness.

AN ALMSGIVING BISHOP WITHOUT CHARITY.

GARDINER, Bishop of Winchester, was accustomed to send his alms-basket to the Marshalsea; but though he gave his goods to feed the poor, he had no charity; for he directed his almoner (Brooks, who succeeded Hooper in the see of Gloucester) to charge the gatekeeper that none of the heretics should have any portion of his alms. This was at a time when the prisons were filled, and many of the prisoners, who had been dragged from their homes and their means of livelihood, were dying of sickness, if not of starvation.—*The Marian Exiles.*

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* See Contest with Rome.

MONEY AND MORALS.*

That self-inspection is the first stage on the road to self-cure, and that before we can amend our faults we must know that we have any, and what they are, is a truth applicable to nations as well as individuals. And yet there are few things rarer than national self-inspection. The conviction of responsibility daily forced upon us by the constant shocks of what men call circumstance and God's retribution, is that which chiefly tends to turn the gaze of the individual conscience inward; and faults are in a fair way for being removed, when they are plainly seen to be developed into misfortunes. However little a man may be disposed to admit a theory of responsibility, he speaks and acts like a Libertarian when he can distinctly trace his destiny to his deeds. But public responsibility?—how is that to be defined and enforced? Public opinion repudiates the act of governments, and governments will not answer for the caprices of public opinion. Every generation throws the onus of the crime upon the last, the burden of the remedy upon the next. A national misfortune is alleged on one side to arise from the incapacity of the government, on the other, from the factiousness of the opposition. In any case, the existence of such a thing as a national conscience, on which the conviction of responsibility can act, may fairly be doubted; and we have, therefore, all the more reason to thank those who, like Mr. Lalor, are willing to undertake, with earnestness and candour, the diagnosis of the national diseases, even if their success should not be adequate to our wishes.

"Money and Morals" is a comprehensive title; and one who turned over Mr. Lalor's pages, unaware of the thread of argumentative connection, might imagine that they treated "de omnibus rebus, et quibusdam aliis." Yet, though we pass from the elementary principles of political economy in the first page to the "reconciliation of the Churches" in the last, and encounter by the way Australian Gold, Lancashire Society, Agricultural Distress, Sanitary Reform, Socialistic Theories, National Defences, and the chances of Imperial Decay, a thread of argumentative connection there undoubtedly is. Still we can hardly promise to guide our readers through every winding of the Dædalian labyrinth. If our remarks partake largely of the miscellaneous character, let it be recollected that the contents of the book before us are miscellaneous also.

Mr. Lalor's text is the Australian gold; and the first half of his work, corresponding, we suppose, to the first half of his title, is an attempt to define the manner in which it will find its way into our circulation, and what monetary effects it is likely to produce. At the same time, however, he essays to prove by an *à-priori* process of argument, what the English nation may regard as already demonstrated by an induction of woful experience, that in England unemployed capital has a constant tendency to accumulation, and, unless legislative or other precautionary measures be taken, will infallibly break out in a madness of speculation, such as rendered memorable the years 1825, 1836 and 1847. The effect of the influx of gold from Australia

* Money and Morals. A Book for the Times. By John Lalor. London: John Chapman. 1852.

which must sooner or later take place, will be, according to Mr. Lalor, to increase the number and to aggravate the fury of these periods of speculation, and consequently to add force to their undoubted demoralizing influence on the English people. But being ourselves content with the argument from experience, we would infer from the past recurrence of these decennial periods, the likelihood of their future repetition; and as we intend, in consequence, to confine our remarks to the latter, or practical portion of the work before us, it will perhaps be fairest to give Mr. Lalor's economical conclusions in his own words:

"It may aid the reader to state briefly the results which appear to be established by the reasoning in the previous chapters.

"1. It goes to prove that there is in England a uniform tendency to excess in the growth of money capital disposable for new employment.

"2. That the accumulations thus arising have hitherto invariably led to speculative excitement and enterprises, which afforded temporary relief to the plethora of capital, but which were necessarily attended by great individual losses and much disturbance of commerce, credit and employment, and the spread of that demoralization which gambling produces.

"3. That such periods are soon followed by a replacement of the lost capital through new saving, and the great gains of some profiting by the losses of others, accompanied by a renewed and aggravated tendency to the same state of things as before.

"4. That without the gold discoveries, the last railway outlay and the crisis of 1847 would of themselves have produced, and that, in fact, there has now again arisen, precisely that condition of capital and industry which has been so often experienced—that condition, namely, of abundant monetary facilities, in which the heralds and precursors of another delusive and ruinous excitement are multiplying on every side.

"5. That the effect of the new gold presenting itself here in the form of money capital disposable for loans, and constituting an addition to that which without it would be in excess, must violently aggravate all the causes leading to speculation which it finds in existence. * * * *

"In the second part of this work, the attempt will be made to show that, though legislation cannot avert, it may diminish the evils of speculation, and that the foregoing conclusions warrant the adoption of a financial policy, which, though perfectly consistent with free trade in the food of the people, is not consistent with the exaggerated maxim of leaving the whole direction of industry to private interest, and is different from any that is at present popular."—Pp. 123—125.

Mr. Lalor commences the second division of his work, which he entitles "Precautions," by a just protest against the doctrine that we are to regulate our national life by a strict regard to the principles of political economy alone. Political economy, he says, is a science based on certain arbitrary assumptions, and, before being applied to the veritable necessities of life, needs to undergo a process of accommodation to the varying conditions of human nature. And from this he deduces, as it appears to us, rightly enough, the conclusion, that political economy is not a moral code; more, that there are occasions on which the economic and the moral code may come into actual conflict; that the latter must override the former; and that the maxim of *Laissez faire* is only of limited application. These remarks, in which we find much that is true and suggestive, are intended to prepare the reader's mind for the consideration of certain legislative measures,

proposed by Mr. Lalor as precautions against the evils of impending speculation, and which he seems to feel beforehand will be obnoxious to economic objections. But Mr. Lalor's measures require money for their execution, and the nation has taken into its head an ill-timed fit of economy. It is therefore necessary to shew, in opposition to Mr. Cobden and other representatives of the "mercantile spirit," that a reduction of taxation is not what we imperatively or even chiefly want. It is true that impatience of taxation is an old national habit; that English liberty owes much to the thirty shillings which Hampden refused to pay; and North American independence dates from the import duty on tea. But our danger now is "the gradual prevalence and ascendancy of a sordid and miserly spirit in all matters of finance." It is not the fault of the church, or of ministers, but of financial reformers, that "the education vote for the country at large is still so paltry." "A low huxtering spirit is becoming increasingly prevalent in the Parliamentary debates." "Wranglings about cheese-parings and candle-ends, such as we have had so much of, if further continued, will deteriorate the whole moral tone of the nation" (pp. 144—146). Again, speaking of taxation in general, Mr. Lalor says (pp. 151—153),

"The practical importance of these questions is greatly exaggerated. There is no doubt room for financial reforms, in getting rid of taxes which obstruct the diffusion of knowledge, in removing when it is possible those which, like the soap tax, obstruct domestic industry, and in judicious reductions which might leave the gross revenue safe, as in the case of the excessive duty on tea; but such questions are at present subordinate, and the *aggregate* of the national revenue cannot be reduced with safety to the highest interests of the country. * * * Let us, therefore, while we remove as far as we can from that decaying prejudice of a narrow political economy, which would bar the most important exercises of the power bestowed upon governments by civilization, cast aside also this popular error of the unparalleled weight of our taxation, and endeavour, with minds free from bias, to look at the great facts of our real position at the present time, and see whether, upon grounds intelligible to every man of common sense, there be not some measures of a comprehensive nature required, to serve as a counterpoise to the over rapid development of commercial wealth; to secure the highest welfare of the manufacturing population itself; and, most urgent of all, to organize on a solid foundation an effective system of military defence, and to enable England, without fear or shame, to resume her proper place and perform her most sacred duties as a member of the great family of nations."

We freely admit that there have been persons and debates in Parliament to which Mr. Lalor's remarks do, to some extent, apply. We admit, too, that there have been instances both of imperial and municipal legislation in which the shopkeeping spirit has rejected a great moral benefit, merely for the sake of the pecuniary cost. But Mr. Lalor appears to us totally to confound the miserly with the mercantile spirit. The miser is afraid to let his precious gold out of the guardianship of his strong box, under any assurances of profit less than the most positive; the merchant disburses in the hope only of a moderate return: the former will not pay in any case; the latter is only anxious to get money's worth for money. Mr. Lalor would surely not look with disfavour on the vigilance which watches that the money drawn from the pockets of the people is spent with

due economy, and only upon the objects for which it was procured. The true question which, as we apprehend it, the financial reformers, as such, endeavour to raise, is not so much, Is such an object of national expenditure desirable? but, Do we obtain the national objects, on which we all agree, at the minimum cost?—in which case, of course, the mercantile maxim comes at once into play, that the least immediate expenditure is not always the best ultimate economy. There are no doubt other questions in which financial reformers take a part, and on which the element of expenditure is not without an influence. We may ask ourselves whether or no certain national institutions, as, for example, the Court of Chancery, return to us an adequate amount of profit on the necessary outlay. But we do not believe that the *miserly* spirit has so taken possession of the English nation as to make the consideration of cost a *primary* one, in either the removal of a national nuisance or the establishment of a social benefit. Whatever may be thought of the policy of the abolition of the Slave Trade—an achievement to which the England of our degenerate age lays fair claim—it was at least both disinterested and costly.

But the remission of taxation is a question of deeper import either than we have indicated or than Mr. Lalor allows. It is not merely a monetary, but in every sense of the word a moral question also. If the conviction that the weight of our taxation is "unparalleled," be an error, Mr. Lalor is right enough in calling it a popular error. The agricultural labourer may, and very likely does, know little enough what it is which makes the rare luxury of a cup of tea so dear; but it is otherwise with his brother of the manufacturing districts. With the latter the conviction is sufficiently strong,—strong beyond the limits of truth,—that the great burden of our indirect taxation falls on the working classes, who are the largest consumers. And on all a new light was shed by the Free-trade reform of 1846. Sir Robert Peel's last words, that the poor man's bread might henceforth be "sweeter, because not leavened with a sense of injustice," have a deeper social significance than is sometimes thought of. For every penny unnecessarily taken by taxation out of the working man's pocket, a corresponding amount of discontent and insubordination enters his soul. And those who, living in the midst of the manufacturing districts, where the congregation of large masses in one place increases the facilities of observation, are able to watch the moral effects of free trade,—how increase of income is developed into increase of content, kindly feeling and self-respect, and how grateful it is to the unrepresented classes to know that their wants are not uncared for, nor their cry unheard, in the upper strata of society,—will not object to the assertion that there is a moral element in the cause of financial reform which constitutes its chief strength. Mr. Lalor himself somewhere says that Lancashire men, if not the wisest in the nation, have at least the strongest wills, and, if banded together in a good cause, are irresistible. And the men of Lancashire are firmly convinced that, apart from abstract questions of political expediency, it can do no harm to have the national books kept with the same regularity and economy as the accounts of a cotton-mill.

The question of unnecessary taxation being thus disposed of as a "popular error," Mr. Lalor proceeds to develop his remedy, which

is, that Government should take into its own hands the direction of superfluous capital into channels most conducive to national welfare. And, first, it might relieve the depressed agricultural interest, "by borrowing, say ten millions sterling, which it could do at three per cent., and advancing the money upon security, with a condition of repayment by twenty-two annual instalments, as under the Drainage Act, including both principal and interest. The money might be advanced to small proprietors cultivating their own land, who are still numerous; to farmers who had, or might obtain, such leases as would constitute a good security; and to others, with or without leases, whose landlords would consent to make the land liable for the payment of the annuity."—P. 168.

Mr. Lalor prepares the way for this proposal by a vivid description of the charms of English rural scenery, and its moral effects upon the nation. He cannot endure to contemplate the possibility of any further encroachments of mill and forge upon upland and corn-field; and proceeds to say,

"No practical statesman or moralist can doubt the national importance of preserving and, if it may be, of still further beautifying this unrivalled inheritance, upon which so much toil has been spent. More desirable, certainly, than the further extension of mines, or workshops, or factories, would be the means—if means can be found—of infusing new life into every branch of agricultural industry, of stimulating the cheerful voice of labour behind the plough, of restoring the joy of the harvest-home, and fostering the taste which twines the roses round the cottage door. In the present state of agricultural England, some such means are certainly needed. No free-trader, with any pretension to candour, can deny that the farming interest is depressed. The admission involves no blame to free-trade in the food of the people, which is not the less just because it may happen to inflict hardship on certain classes. The fault may even lie in the farmers themselves, or in the landlords, or, as I should be disposed to say, in thirty years of unwise legislation; but, however this may be, the fact stands—agriculture *is* depressed. Even in a party sense, the admission may be made with safety, for politically these poor farmers are undoubtedly beaten. After being led for the second time into the field, they find the old banner again lowered to the adversary before the firing of a single shot. They really are not any longer formidable. The aged lion has not so much as one surviving tooth, and it is the merest dictate of humanity that those whom he might have frightened for a moment should now put aside their fears, and look with pity and generous tenderness into the wounds with which he is evidently bleeding."—Pp. 158, 159.

And again:

"The farmers, then, have certainly been losing of late, and those in the more backward districts—the great majority of the whole class—have considerably less capital than they had ten years ago. In general they may be said to be low-spirited, discouraged, looking half sadly, half curiously at those wealthier or more energetic members of the class who are meeting their difficulties with true English pluck, and breasting with bolder strokes than ever these rough waters of free-trade. The majority are down-hearted, and all the while desperately scolded and snubbed and lectured for want of enterprize; landlords even, who are themselves not conspicuous amongst the working bees of the hive, shewing in their speeches a much stronger sense of the evil of undrained clays, and fields too fertile in rushes, than is entertained by the melancholy listeners from whom their rents are received. The

case is evidently one of those for which the medical faculty is accustomed to prescribe tonics or stimulants—something, perhaps, a little bitter on the tongue, but giving a new and delightful sense of life when it begins to tell upon the inward parts. For the agricultural languor, accordingly, different stimulants have been suggested."—P. 161.

With considerable scorn he alludes to a mode of removing the difficulty, at present not unpopular.

"There are some reasoners, however, by whom the difficulty is disposed of in a short and decisive manner. They are of that class of thinkers who are always philosophical upon the misfortunes of their neighbours, and generally very ingenious in fitting such painful facts into some neat theory of social progress and prosperity. Their view may be expressed in some such language as the following:—'The poorer and more ignorant farmers are incorrigible. They are altogether behind the age, too old to adopt new ways, too besotted with protectionist prejudices ever to understand the exigencies of free-trade. To talk to them of improved agriculture, drainage, guano, and all that sort of thing, is waste of breath, a mere casting of pearls before swine. There is nothing for them but to go and make room for others. They must go to America, or Australia, or wherever they can; but at all events go, and leave the land to enlightened capitalists, who are up to the newest modes of husbandry, will double the produce, pay higher rents, and compete with all the world."—Pp. 163, 164.

But no; this will not do. The transference of capital from agriculture to other channels of employment will cause an "irreparable waste of human happiness." The farmer is attached to his land and his homestead; and must be kept there at the national cost, though Canadian forests invite his axe, or Australian plains are open to his flocks. In short, farming is a trade which appeals to our sense of the beautiful, and must be supported, whatever the counter attractions of cheap corn from Dantzic or Odessa,—just as the tradesman in his suburban villa eats his own peas and potatoes at twice the cost at which they are offered in the neighbouring market.

We profess ourselves of that class of reasoners, so curtly alluded to by Mr. Lalor, who believe that a change in the personal character of agriculturists is not only advisable but necessary. And that change is now going on with a rapidity and completeness which bids defiance to all economic expedients, even though backed by a loan of ten millions. Mr. Lalor says that the "agricultural interest is, generally speaking, depressed." The agricultural interest may be defined to consist of three classes,—the landlords, the tenant farmers, and the farm labourers. There is no depression of landlords, no fall in rents, and, as we happen to know from personal experience, eager competition for every vacant farm. The farm labourers are not depressed, for wages are not lower than they have been for many years past: Irish competition is lessened by the efflux of emigration; and the necessaries of life are abundant and cheap. Whatever depression exists, must therefore be among the tenant farmers; and even this is hardly compatible with the competition for land alluded to above. The true explanation, however little Mr. Lalor may be disposed to allow it, is, that a change in the *personnel* of practical agriculture is visibly taking place. The attachment to country life and pursuits, which he justly calls a national characteristic, is drawing thousands from the cities to the fields, to employ in agricultural pursuits the

energy, the perseverance and the method, which have served them well in commercial life. These are the great patrons of agricultural implement-makers, the erectors of steam-engines, the importers of guano, the introducers of reaping-machines. For every one of them who occupies a farm, or throws two farms into one, some one or more, brought up to the changeless routine of ancient agriculture, migrates to some land where the strong hand bears a larger proportion of value to the quick head than is the case here. Landlords like to have tenants who improve the land, pay their rents regularly, and instead of calling upon Hercules, in the shape of the steward, in case of difficulty, put their own shoulders to the wheel. And how this change is to be checked or prevented we know not, except some admirer of the picturesque should procure a legislative enactment to prohibit the smoke of a steam-engine from being seen in a farm-yard, or interdict the American reaper, as interfering with the jollity of a harvest supper. The simple fact of the case is, that the incompetent and improvident can flourish in no trade, from which the artificial supports of bounties and protection duties have once been fairly withdrawn. And none but agriculturists would ever ask for a government loan, as a premium upon incompetence and improvidence. Grumbling is an Englishman's privilege; and the farmers, so long protected by the landowners who made the laws, have learned to grumble with a forty-Englishman power, because they have hitherto found that their clamour was answered by social privilege guaranteed by legislation. Why, except that the word ruin is, as ever, loud in the agricultural mouth, that and no other interest is to be accommodated with a loan of ten millions, we know not. There are, no doubt, struggling manufacturers, who would like to borrow money of government at the easy rate recommended by Mr. Lalor. Many a merchant, trading upon borrowed capital, would like to change his five into three per cent., and to find a creditor who would take back the loan in twenty-two annual instalments. But no: mill chimneys are, we grant, less picturesque than barns, and warehouses less redolent of sweet-scented nature than dairies; and therefore not only agriculture is to be protected, but agriculturists themselves: the very men who, as Mr. Lalor says, have not "the true English pluck" to meet their difficulties, are to be ensured against the competition of those who would bring energy, science and industry to the cultivation of the earth.

We may, however, as it seems to us, remove the necessity of further discussion by reducing the argument to the form of a dilemma. The whole question presupposes that the soil of England will repay the labour and cost of cultivation. If the present generation of farmers have energy enough to make the business pay, they do not want the government loan: if they are behind the age, listless, "low-spirited," "discouraged," a government loan will not supply the necessary moral qualities. And in any case we may fall back upon the expedient which Mr. Lalor so zealously repudiates,—that if the present occupiers of land give up the task in despair, there are abundance of others who will gladly take their places in the battle with free trade and low prices. The main pillar of Mr. Lalor's argument rests upon the supposition, that, except in case of legislative interference, capital will not flow to agriculture. On the other hand, we are

assured by our own daily experience that rents have not diminished, that farms are difficult to be procured, and that estates still bring thirty years' purchase.

Mr. Lalor would, however, extend much further than this his principle of government loans. Money borrowed at the same easy rate of three per cent. is to be lent for colonization, emigration, and the improvement of towns. We have before expressed our concurrence in Mr. Lalor's protest against the universal applicability of the *Laissez faire* policy. We should shrink from asserting the absolute impolicy of a government loan in every conceivable case. But still we think that Mr. Lalor has overlooked one source of serious difficulty and danger in thus subjecting so large a field of national enterprize to the control of official boards and committees. We acknowledge with justifiable pride the vast improvement which within the last century has taken place in the morality of English statesmen; but there is yet no feeling more prevalent among men of strict integrity, than that the affairs of a public company are rarely administered with the same nice sense of honour as those of a private firm; in a word, that there is one standard of morality which applies to public, and another to personal property. There seems to be no likelihood that this generation will ever forget the meaning of the word jobbery. We do not indeed find that our high officials, who enter public life not overburdened with wealth, quit it for mansions like that which London nicknamed Dunkirk, or picture galleries such as a Prime Minister collected at Houghton. But we have still a sufficient number of sinecures, and deputyships, and boards within boards, and committees below committees, to prove the prolific source of official corruption. And, while the mismanagement of trust property is everywhere notorious, there is no such flagrant notoriety as the mismanagement of the public property by the board of Woods and Forests, which, while private proprietors are covering the bare hills of Scotland and Ireland with profitable forests, returns the finest woodlands in England as a positive burden to the exchequer. We surely have among us mementos enough of the good old times of public venality and corruption, to warn us how we too trust to any government the management of so enormous a mortgage-fund as Mr. Lalor proposes, and the consequent supervision of the mortgaged estates.

(To be concluded in the next No.)

PURITAN HOMES.

Its homes were blessed with the spirit of conjugal and parental love. Contempt and persecution drew closer the living bonds of the heart. Even the rugged exterior of Cromwell's mind sheltered a spirit of household purity and tenderness. It is mentioned, I think by Ludlow—no admirer of Cromwell—that in the height of his power, his mind never recovered its cheerfulness after the death of his daughter, Claypole, and that this event was believed to have hastened his own end. This most amiable expression of the old Puritan principle still subsists in some of its worthiest representatives among the Congregationalists of the new world.—*Rev. J. J. Tayler's Religious Life of England*, p. 273.

LETTER ON CERTAIN MISREPRESENTATIONS OF SCRIPTURE LANGUAGE.

Sir,

If the reviewer in the Christian Reformer (p. 383) wished to correct the view taken in the pamphlet on Certain Misrepresentations of Scripture Language, by citing the text from 1 Tim. vi. 14, he ought surely to have given the next text, 2 Tim. i. 9, 10, and that of iv. 1, 8, to illustrate the meaning of ἐπιφανεια, which comparison of the four texts can scarcely be deemed to give a verdict for his view, whatever strength it may add to the view of the pamphlet. And in Titus ii. 13, his explanation will necessitate the *bodily coming* of "the great God;" and the text from 2 Thess. ii. 8, will hardly serve his view better, since we cannot view in a literal meaning to *destroy* with the word of mouth and *brightness* of *coming*.

I confess to seeing nothing unfortunate in the illustrations of *parousia* from the presence of Paul, Stephanas, Titus. It was not the body of these teachers, but their minds, which so highly benefited the friends they were with. It was hardly Paul's bodily coming or walking which was weak and his speech contemptible; for he adds, "Such as we are in word when absent, we will be in work when present." At ver. 1, he says, "We are according to our aspect humble, but being absent are full of courage towards you."

"I am with you until the end of the world," συντελεια, συντελεω, always meaning the completing, the fulfilling, bringing everything together into completion or perfection. Heb. viii. 8, it is used of the new covenant: "God will make with Israel." Mark xiii. 4: "When Jesus had brought to fulness all his sayings, the people were astonished by his teaching." Acts xxi. 27: "When the seven days of purification had completed their work." Rom. ix. 28: "For God will not break or cut off his word or purpose, but will accomplish," bring it to effect, and decree, determine it. So Matt. xiii. 39, at the completing of the purpose of this world, or existence, the fulfilment of the sum of its action, the good things will remain, the bad things be abolished. Thus Matt. xxiv. 3 means, that Christ will be with man until the fulfilment, the bringing all together into perfection of the plan of this existence.

I cannot but regret the reviewer has not stated what are the points of essential importance to the settlement of the question kept out of view upon which he founds his dissent. As this must be left to the imaginations of his readers, who see nothing save agreement in all the criticism entered into, not merely from the urbanity with which it is written, I remain, &c. &c.,

The Writer of Letter on certain Misrepresentations.

July 5th.

A NOBLE WIFE.

Henry Francis d'Aguesseau, Chancellor of France, on one occasion opposed a favourite measure of the Court, and it was supposed that he would be disgraced. He was summoned by an angry message to Versailles. "Go,"—his wife said to him,—"and while you are before the King, forget your wife, forget your children,—lose everything but your honour."—*Charles Butler's Reminiscences*, p. 260.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Library for the Times, Nos. VIII. and IX.

Of the two new volumes issued by the Anti-State-Church Association, we take the last first, viz., Mr. Bazil H. Cooper's *Free Church of Ancient Christendom and its Subjugation under Constantine.* Without any pretensions to rank amongst original ecclesiastical historians, Mr. Cooper presents us with a sketch of the history of Christianity during the three first centuries, with special reference to its policy. The author has shewn considerable diligence in producing the results of the latest inquiries of English and continental scholars,—Cureton, Hallam and Schliemann. Encumbered with the perplexing and self-contradictory theology of the Nicene Creed, Mr. Cooper often loses himself in the mazes of the early history of the church, and raises but a feeble voice against the ecclesiastical domination of the councils whose orthodoxy he loves and desires to protect. His style lacks simplicity, and his vocabulary is disfigured by many unjustifiable novelties, such as "cosmical," "Johanneine age," "supersensuous," "prelature," &c. In his treatment of heretical leaders, little discrimination is shewn, and old calumnies (including the fable of John's treatment of Cerinthus at the bath) are freely reproduced. In Milman's delightful and instructive History of Christianity, Mr. Cooper had an example of the possibility of writing history in an uncontroversial spirit. He has chosen a different path, and in doing so has, we think, greatly weakened the conclusion to which he desires to conduct his readers. Making these somewhat serious drawbacks, we are not unwilling to concede that Mr. Cooper has written an able and, on the whole, interesting book.

The other publication of this series is Dr. Romeo Elton's *Life of Roger Williams, the earliest Legislator and true Champion for a full and absolute Liberty of Conscience.* We are disposed to recommend this as the most valuable of the series. In a former volume (N. S., IV. p. 577) we gave a sketch of the life of this truly great man, prepared with some care from the materials at our command. Could we have then possessed Dr. Elton's book, we should have escaped one or two mistakes, and have enriched the narrative with some interesting details. We will now, as briefly as we can, supply the deficiencies and correct the errors of our former sketch.

Roger Williams was born in the year 1606, in the parish of Conwyl Cayo, near Lampeter, in the county of Carmarthen. He was the son of William Williams, who resided on a small patrimonial estate named *Maestroiddyn fawr.* Longevity appears, by the testimony of a living descendant, to have been an attribute of this race of Southwellian yeomen.

"There is now living at Conwyl Cayo—or, as it is more frequently called, simply Cayo—a venerable patriarch, nearly one hundred years old, who is apparently of the same family with Roger Williams. The mental powers of this aged Nestor are still vigorous, and his memory tenacious with respect to circumstances which have long since transpired. He says he has heard his grandfather mention 'that the great Roger Williams, who was educated at Oxford, was one of his family, and that he *went over the sea*, after being a clergyman for a few years in England.' He asserts that his grandfather lived to the age of 98, and that his great-grandfather reached nearly the same advanced period. He says, also, that at one time there were two letters in the possession of his family which had been received by his great-grandfather from Roger Williams." P. 9.

Dr. Elton has made good use of some MS. letters in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. One of these, addressed by Williams to Mrs. Sadleir, the daughter of Sir Edward Coke, is endorsed by that lady thus: "This Roger Williams, when he was a youth, would, in a short-hand, take sermons and speeches in the Star Chamber and present them to my dear father. He

seeing so hopeful a youth, took such liking to him that he sent him to Sutton's Hospital" (p. 10). From the records of Sutton's Hospital, now the Charter-house, it is shewn that Roger Williams was elected a scholar, June 25, 1621, and that he obtained an exhibition, July 9, 1624. From the Charter-house, Dr. Elton shews from the register of matriculations that Roger Williams entered himself a student in Jesus College, Oxford. This College was much resorted to by natives of the Principality, having been founded by a countryman of theirs, "for the maintenance of certain scholars of Wales to be trained up in good letters." It has the distinction of being the first Protestant College in Oxford. Its statutes assert and guard by many enactments the Protestant religion. The Principal and Fellows have to swear that they prefer the authority of Scripture to the judgment of men; that they will seek the rule and sum of faith only out of the Scriptures. The College consisted about this time * of a Principal, 16 Fellows and Scholars, 37 Commoners, and 22 Poor Scholars. The Principal of Jesus College was Sir Eubule Thelwall; the Vice-Principal of the University was the more celebrated Dr. Prideaux. The studies of Jesus College were in its early days conducted by Prælectors. Thrice a week, at seven in the morning, the Censor of Philosophy lectured on the physical works of Aristotle; at a still earlier day, the Prælector of Logic gave lectures on the logical works of the same author. Twice in the day declamations and disputations were held. The Bible was read daily in hall at dinner. Bachelors of Art were ordered to converse within the College precincts in Greek, Latin or Hebrew. Discipline was preserved by the infliction of fines or *whipping*. In looking through the list of Oxford students at and about the time when Roger Williams was a member of Jesus College, one is struck with the names of men destined to play various conflicting but important parts on the world's stage,—Chillingworth and his unrelenting Presbyterian persecutor, Cheynell,—Erbury, destined like Williams to pursue an eccentric theological course,—and Edwards (the "shallow Edwards" of Milton's sonnet), the coarse reviler of him and all who loved and exercised spiritual freedom. It is not known how long Williams remained at Oxford. In 1625, he would witness the assembly in Oxford of that Parliament (driven from London by the plague) which from its shortlivedness got the nickname of *Parliamentum Vanum*. By an arbitrary decree characteristic of the times, the students were deprived of their rooms to give quarters to the members of both Houses. The annoyance lasted only a fortnight. It does not appear that Williams took any degree at the University. Dr. Elton states there is a tradition that on leaving Oxford he betook himself to the study of the law, under the patronage of Sir Edward Coke. It is more certain that he was ordained, and it is not improbable that he was for a short time settled in Lincolnshire, a diocese which, under the tolerant and anti-Laudian sway of Bishop Williams, abounded with Puritan ministers and flocks.

Of Roger Williams's life in America, the account previously given was sufficiently full, and needs only one correction. His controversy on the Quaker principles was not carried on with George Fox himself, but with three of his followers. On Williams's noble work, the "Bloudy Tenent," Dr. Elton thus remarks:

"Principles of religious liberty are expounded and illustrated in the 'Bloudy Tenent,' which have since excited admiration in the writings of Jeremy Taylor, Milton, Locke, and Furneau.—Bishop Heber, in his Life of Jeremy Taylor, remarks of the 'Liberty of Prophesying,'—'It is the first attempt on record to conciliate the minds of Christians to the reception of a doctrine which, though now the rule of action professed by all Christian sects, was then, by every sect alike, regarded as a perillous and portentous novelty.' Bishop Heber has here fallen into a mistake, as Taylor's admirable work was not published till 1647, three years after the 'Bloudy Tenent.' In the latter work the principles of

* See "an exact account, &c., taken 1602," Oxoniana, II. 253.

liberty of conscience are far more clearly and consistently maintained. Taylor *claims toleration for those Christians only who unite in the Confession of the Apostles' Creed;* Williams claims not merely a right to toleration, but for every man entire liberty of conscience."—Pp. 68, 69.

Of the other publications of Roger Williams our author gives an intelligent account. One of extreme rarity, of which, indeed, only one copy is known to exist, entitled "Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health," was written in "the thickest of the naked Indians of America, in their very wild houses and by their barbarous fires." The work is dedicated "to the truly honorable the Lady Vane," and there is prefixed by Williams an affectionate letter to his wife. In his treatise entitled "The Hireling Ministry," he expresses enlightened sympathy for the Jews, "for whose hard measure he fears the nations and England have yet a score to pay."

A very remarkable correspondence is for the first time published between Williams and the daughter of his early patron, Sir Edward Coke,—a Mrs. Sadleir. His part in the correspondence is marked by gentleness, affection, the love of truth—hers, by harshness and insolent assumption, and by the intolerant bigotry of an established church, sufficiently displeasing in a man and a priest, but most repulsive in a woman. In his opening letter, written from England, Williams expresses "the never dying honour and respect which he owed" to her father.

"My much honoured friend, that man of honour, and wisdom and piety, your dear Father, was often pleased to call me his son; and truly it was as bitter as death to me when Bishop Laud pursued me out of this land, and my conscience was persuaded against the national church and ceremonies and bishops, beyond the conscience of your dear father. I say it was as bitter as death to me, when I rode Windsor way, to take ship at Bristow, and saw Stoke House, where the blessed man was; and I then durst not acquaint him with my conscience and my flight. But how many thousand times since have I had honourable and precious remembrance of his person, and the life, the writings, the speeches and the example of that glorious light. And I may truly say, that beside my natural inclination to study and activity, his example, instruction and encouragement have spurred me on to a more than ordinary industrious and patient course, in my whole course hitherto."—Pp. 89, 90.

His correspondent returns his books unread, but with cold thanks, alleging that she had given over reading many books, and confined her attention to "the late King's book," and writers like Hooker, Andrews, Taylor and Jackson, whom her father was accustomed to call "the glorious lights of the Church of England." She tells Williams she has no faith in his "new lights;" that, believing they would prove but dark lanterns, she durst not meddle with them (p. 91). Again Williams writes, and sends other publications of his—they also are returned, with the profession of her attachment to "the old and best religion," in which as a member of the Church of England she had been bred, and with the declaration, that "since it has been left to every man's conscience to fancy what religion he list, there has more Christian blood been shed than was in the ten persecutions." Williams sends an elaborate reply, in the course of which he says, "As for the King, I knew his person, vicious, a swearer from his youth, and an oppressor and persecutor of good men." To improve her charity, he recommends to her Jeremy Taylor's Liberty of Prophesying and Milton's Eikonoklastes. The lady in her reply loses her temper, and tells Mr. Williams that he had a face of brass and could not blush (p. 97). For his "foul and false aspersions upon the King of ever-blessed memory, Charles the Martyr," she calls him "a villain." She recommends him to read Walker's History of Independency, and a Sermon by Paul Knell.* Of Milton she writes thus:

* Paul Knell was a chaplain to Charles II. in his foreign exile, and afterwards chaplain to a regiment of cuirasseirs. The sermon was entitled "England and Israel paralleled."

"For Milton's book, that you desire I should read, if I be not mistaken, that is he that has wrote a book of the lawfulness of divorce; and, if report says true, he had at that time two or three wives living. This perhaps were good doctrine in New England; but it is most abominable in Old England. For his book that he wrote against the late King that you would have me read, you should have taken notice of God's judgment upon him, who stroke him with blindness; and, as I have heard, he was fain to have the help of one Andrew Marvell, or else he could not have finished that accursed libel. God has begun his judgment upon him here—his punishment will be hereafter in hell."—Pp. 98, 99.

After this we are not surprised at her concluding with a hint that her correspondent will not reach heaven unless he ceases to be a rebel; that his letters are troublesome; and that she wishes him in the place whence he came. To shew still more plainly the baleful spirit of party, this *gentle* lady endorses the letters with a statement respecting their author, and the wish that if he returned to his native country, "Tyburn might give him welcome."—P. 100.

Dr. Elton well observes,

"The rebel she denounces has acquired a nobler fame than even that of the acute lawyer her father; while if her own name is rescued from oblivion, she owes it to her accidental connection with the man she consigns to Tyburn."

In conclusion, we tender to Dr. Elton our thanks for the pleasure derived from the perusal of this unpretending but truly valuable biography.

The Lord Provost (of Edinburgh) and Unitarianism. By J. C. Woods, B. A. London—Whitfield.

Mr. Duncan McLaren, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, has been favourably known to the general public as a zealous upholder of free trade and liberal politics. He recently addressed his fellow-citizens as a candidate for the honour of representing them in Parliament. In an evil hour he mingled theological polemics with his electioneering addresses, and denounced both Popery and Unitarianism as equally erroneous, and as both opposed to the simplicity, purity and genuine meaning of the New Testament.

Mr. Woods, the able and zealous Unitarian minister of Edinburgh, felt it to be his duty to defend the Unitarian body from the uncalled-for censure of the chief magistrate of his city, and to give a public explanation of Unitarianism. The spirited tract now before us contains the substance of Mr. Woods' address delivered in St. Mark's chapel, Edinburgh, on Sunday evening, June 27, in which he states what Unitarianism really is, and vindicates its simplicity, purity and agreement with the New Testament. The address was heard by a crowded congregation, and is in its printed form obtaining a large local circulation. We are perfectly satisfied with the advocacy of the Unitarian faith by Mr. Woods. We can scarcely regret that the Lord Provost is not elected by his fellow-citizens as Mr. Macaulay's colleague. Religious questions are just now so strangely intertwined with British and Irish politics, that it is not desirable or safe to arm a bigot, however honest he may be, with the powers of a senator.

Tracts designed to promote the Knowledge and Practice of Christianity.

These short and popular tracts are issued at Bristol. They discuss, 1, the Religious Belief of Unitarian Christians; 2, the common Doctrine of Atonement; 3, Vicarious Redemption; 4 and 5, Examination of Scripture alleged in behalf of the common Doctrine of Atonement; 6, the Unitarian View of the Mission and Death of Christ. They are, we believe, issued by Rev. W. James, and deserve a place in the catalogue of every Unitarian Tract Society.

INTELLIGENCE.

DOMESTIC.

Warwickshire Unitarian Tract Society.

This Society was instituted June 6, 1806, for the promotion of religious truth, piety and virtue, by the distribution of books which are in accordance with the declaration of the Saviour, John xvii. 3, and of Paul, 1 Timothy ii. 5. The chief founders of the Society were Rev. John Kentish, Rev. Timothy Davis, Rev. Dr. Toulmin and Rev. Richard Fry. Of its early promoters, the two first-named only remain. The Society now numbers about 230 members, connected with 20 congregations in the Midland district. These congregations are, Birmingham (3), Banbury, Cheltenham, Coseley, Coventry, Cradley, Dudley, Evesham, Kidderminster, Kingswood, Northampton, Oldbury, Shrewsbury, Stourbridge, Tamworth, Warwick and Wolverhampton. The sermon was fixed to be held this year at Evesham, a town recently made easily accessible to a large portion of the members of the Society by the opening of a railroad from Worcester. This was the fourth occasion of the Society's meeting in Evesham, the first being in 1812, when there were three religious services, one being held on the evening preceding the meeting, the preachers being Rev. John Kentish, Richard Fry and Dr. Toulmin; the second was in 1826, when the sermon was preached by Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, and the evening sermon by Rev. J. Reynell Wreford; the third was in 1837, June 21, the day on which Victoria was proclaimed Queen of England, and the impressive prayer in behalf of the new monarch, by the Rev. Samuel Bache, on that occasion is still remembered; the sermon was then preached by Rev. Benjamin Carpenter. The fourth celebration of the Socitey at Evesham, and the 46th of the Society, was held on Wednesday, August 18. Amongst the friends who assembled on this occasion were Messrs. Wills and Martin, of Birmingham; Mr. Furber, of Cheltenham; and the following ministers: Rev. Timothy Davis, Samuel Bache, John Gordon, R. B. Aspland, Charles Clarke, A. W. Worthington, Matthew Gibson and — Gilbert.

The religious service was held in the neat chapel in Ode Street, of which we are enabled to give in the present No. an illustrative vignette, originally executed from Mr. May's "History of Evesham."* From this interesting topographical volume we take the description of the chapel and burial-ground. "This place of worship is very properly placed back from the public street, from whence we pass to it through a garden-like enclosure spread with turf that here and there swells gently over the remains of those who sleep beneath; while flowering shrubs, shaded by the drooping branches of the mournful willow that waves above the lettered stones, stamp order, quietude and seriousness upon this avenue to the house of prayer. There is something, too, appropriate and time-honoured in the aspect of the building. It lacks that prim and staring frontage which modern meeting-houses usually present. There is repose and mellowness in the tincture *(tinge?)* of its walls, and sedateness even in the leaded lights that occupy its window-frames. We enter; and the character of the interior harmoniously corresponds; it tells us that the *fathers* of the living generation worshiped here. The place is well-proportioned, airy; not smothered in with galleries, but roomily pewed with oak. The organ-loft, the pulpit with its characteristic sounding-board, and even the dial with its ancient face, are all in unison: they speak to us of bygone years."

The religious service was impressively introduced by Rev. Charles Clarke, the minister of the Old meeting-house, Birmingham. The sermon was preached by Rev. R. B. Aspland, of Dukinfield. Taking for his text Eccles. vii. 14, the preacher offered a vindication of the compensatory, rectifying and benignant Providence of God, enforcing his views as he proceeded by a variety of appropriate and interesting historial allusions and illustrations, and shewing how out of the worst evils of society good often sprang, and how the liberty and happiness of mankind and

* Of the history of this congregation no suitable account exists. We have prepared, by the assistance of Mr. Davis, a brief account of the place and the succession of ministers, which we find ourselves compelled to defer to our next No.

Christian truth and religious progress were secured in the midst of circumstances that appeared often to threaten their destruction.

On the conclusion of the religious service the business meeting was held, also in the chapel, the chair being taken by Mr. Oswald New. The Secretary, Rev. Samuel Bache, read the minutes of the proceedings during the past year, and produced the Catalogue for the ensuing year. It contained 127 books and tracts, all very carefully selected; amongst the new works were "Cautions for the Times," attributed to Archbishop Whately; the Earl of Derby "On the Parables," published by the Christian Knowledge Society; Mr. S. Greg's "Word for Christianity," and various tracts recently published by Messrs. Bache, Gordon, Higginson, Tayler, Wicksteed and Wright. From the Treasurer's report it appeared that the receipts of the Society had been during the year £63. 6*s*. 4*d*., which, added to the balance existing at the last annual meeting, amounted to £89. 10*s*. 11*d*. The expenditure had been £64. 11*s*. 1*d*., leaving a balance in hand at the present time of £24. 19*s*. 10*d*. Reference was made to two sad bereavements which the cause of religious truth and liberty in general and this Society in particular had endured by the death of Mr. James Russell and Mr. T. Eyre Lee, both of whom had long been members of the Society, and belonged at the time of their decease to the Committee. Resolutions confirming the report, acknowledging the services of the officers of the Society, and electing officers for the ensuing year, were proposed by Rev. Timothy Davis, Mr. Wills, Mr. Herbert New and Mr. A. Martin, which having been seconded by Mr. Furber, Mr. Matthews, &c., were unanimously adopted. Mr. Wills expressed on behalf of the Society the gratitude entertained towards Mr. Bache for his efficient performance of the duties of the Secretaryship, and remarked that it was matter of surprise that, with his great and onerous engagements, he was able to afford the time required by the Society. But it was often seen that those men who have the most to do, are both qualified and disposed to discharge it in the best manner. In acknowledging the cordial vote of thanks, Mr. Bache said that the duties connected with the Secretaryship were not particularly onerous, only requiring at a particular season of the year attention and some little regularity. Were they heavier than they were, he should not be disposed to shrink from them: he felt more than repaid by the pleasant intercourse into which his official connection brought him with the members of the Committee and with the several ministers of the Midland counties, and also by the opportunity of listening to the admirable addresses which were delivered to them at their annual meetings.—The Rev. John Gordon, in moving a vote of thanks to the preacher of the day, expressed his assent to the opinion just uttered by Mr. Bache, and added, that never had their gratification been greater than in connection with the service of that morning. The sermon was ingenious, appropriate and interesting. Its historical references added to its value. From mere metaphysical speculations our laymen often turn away with distaste; but they cannot but see the important bearing on the best interests of the race of great principles when elucidated by history. He concluded by adding to the resolution a request that the sermon might be entrusted to the Committee for publication. The resolution was seconded by Mr. Furber and passed.—The time having arrived for the election of new members, the names of several were proposed, amongst which were Rev. Charles Clarke and Rev. Mr. Gilbert, of Coventry, formerly an Independent minister. In proposing a vote of thanks to the minister of the place and his congregation, Mr. Clarke paid a handsome tribute to Rev. Timothy Davis. The proceedings in the chapel were concluded by a cordial vote of thanks to the Chairman, proposed by Mr. Aspland and seconded by Mr. Bache.

The short interval previous to dinner was spent by some of the visitors in strolling along the banks of the classic Avon;* by others, in visiting the beau-

* It may not be out of place to mention that Fuller in his Church History (Book iv. Cent. xv.) quaintly represents the Avon as one of the channels of Protestantism. After telling the story of digging up, in obedience to the decree of the Council of Constance, from the chancel of the church at Lutterworth, the remains of Wickliffe, which were burnt, and then the ashes thrown into a neighbouring stream called the Swift, he adds, "This brook hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean.

tiful churchyard, containing the two parish churches of St. Lawrence and All Saints, and the noble bell-tower called Abbot Lichfield's tower, the only remains of the ancient abbey of Evesham. In All Saints church lie the remains of two of the Presbyterian ministers of Evesham, one of them an Unitarian preacher and writer more than a century ago, and the record of his personal virtues is inscribed on his monument by a friendly contemporary, a clergyman of the Church of England.

At two o'clock, the friends of the Society, both ladies and gentlemen, re-assembled at the White Hart hotel, where a party of forty sat down to dinner, under the presidency of Mr. Herbert New, supported in the vice-chair by Mr. Oswald New. The guests were reminded that they were being entertained in a vale which has received the name of "the Garden of England," by a dessert of delicious garden and hot-house fruits, provided by the hospitality of members of the congregation. The toasts and sentiments were introduced by the Chairman in a series of brief but felicitous addresses, which were strictly appropriate to the occasion, and gave the right spirit to the meeting. After the usual loyal toasts, Mr. Gordon gave a very powerful address on Civil and Religious Liberty. In connection with the sentiment of "Success to the Warwickshire Book and Tract Society," Mr. Bache shewed how consistent with and how productive of the largest charity, was the distinct profession of religious doctrine. He reminded his venerable friend Mr. Davis, that of all who assembled fifteen years ago in that town on a similar occasion, they two were the only individuals then present. Though personal changes were constantly going on, the cause of truth and religious reform did not decline; and they that day had the pleasure of seeing assembled a still larger number of friends than had met them in 1837. At a later period of the afternoon, Mr. Bache proposed, in a manner deeply affecting to the feelings of all present, the health of the venerable pastor of the Evesham congregation, Rev. Timothy Davis. Mr. Aspland spoke at some length, and expressed the pleasure it gave him to have been invited to preach from the pulpit of that early Unitarian confessor, Paul Cardale, and dwelt on some particulars in his life and his more important works. He earnestly defended the latter from the unfounded and petulant criticism of Job Orton, that they were dull and tedious, and recommended the publication, by the Committee, of a popular tract containing selections from them and a memoir of their author. He then proceeded to describe the aspects of the religious world, and to express his entire dissent from those who gave way to despondency and fear. There were some men who, when bid by their Lord to launch forth into the deep of human society and fearlessly cast forth their nets, like Simon Peter, despondingly replied that they had toiled through the night and taken nothing. Yet it was seldom strictly true; for those most forward to complain, were generally least disposed to *toil* in any cause. Let the desponding and the timid Unitarian find a rebuke in, and learn wisdom from, the example of men like Cardale and Priestley, who had indeed toiled through the long night of ignorance and prejudice, and taken nothing but obloquy and persecution.—The Rev. Charles Clarke spoke on the great importance to congregations and individuals of devotional habits.—Mr. Wills, in a very interesting speech, proposed, "That this meeting desires to record its conviction of the unspeakable importance of a ministry at once educated and devoted, possessed of a benevolent spirit and definite faith; and to express its earnest hope that the Unitarian laity may become more earnestly impressed with the duty both of encouraging well-qualified young men to consecrate themselves to the service of Christ as ministers of his gospel, and of faithfully sustaining them in their arduous vocation."—Mr. Martin, of Birmingham, spoke on the subject of Sunday-schools, and gave some particulars of the school connected with the Old meeting.—Rev. Timothy Davis, though himself labouring under indisposition, delighted the meeting by a speech of great power, delivered with deep emotion, in proposing the health of Rev. John Kentish, and dwelt on his long course of public usefulness and his many personal virtues.—The meeting, before separating, paid tokens of respect to the Vice-chairman and his father, Mr. John New, who was prevented by illness from joining the meeting. One very interesting feature of the day's proceed-

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And thus the ashes of Wickliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."

ings was the presence, both at the religious service and the dinner, of a minister connected with a Baptist congregation in the town, the Rev. H. N. Barnett, who succeeded, about a year ago, to the pulpit in Mill Street, formerly occupied by Mr. J. D. Casewell. In the course of the afternoon he twice addressed the meeting: in the first instance, at the request of the Chairman, on the subject of civil and religious liberty; and afterwards, spontaneously, as the company were about to drink the health of Rev. Timothy Davis. He expressed his strong respect and regard for Mr. Davis, and the pleasure it afforded him to bear his humble testimony in public to his worth and high character as a man and a Christian minister. Before the party broke up, Mr. Gordon reviewed the proceedings of the day, which he characterized as pleasing and successful almost beyond his experience. There had been in that public meeting the simplicity and heartiness of a family meeting, and all the sentiments to which they had listened had been pure and noble. He concluded by proposing a well-deserved toast in honour of the Chairman, who, after a brief and graceful acknowledgment of the compliment, then terminated the meeting.

Western Unitarian Society.

At the invitation of Mr. Brock and his congregation, the annual general meeting of this Society was held this year, out of its usual district, at Swansea. The Society has no occasion to regret its extension beyond the formerly assigned limits of its operations. *No less than fifty members were added to it on the occasion,*—a much larger accession than at any preceding annual meeting. The proceedings throughout were characterized by Christian zeal and unanimity. The Rev. Thomas Madge, of London, preached in the morning, taking for his subject some of the great facts recorded in the New Testament, and reasoning from them in favour of Unitarian views. Cogent in argument, eloquent in conception and language, powerful alike in matter and manner, this discourse will ever be remembered by those who heard it, as a noble and convincing specimen of pulpit Christian teaching. At the transaction of the business of the day, Walter Coffin, Esq., the recently elected Member of Parliament for the Cardiff boroughs, presided, and admirably the chair was filled by him. A collation was provided for ladies and gentlemen, of which about 140 partook. Sentiments were delivered by the Chairman, and by Revds. T. Madge, Edwin Chapman, J. Smethurst, John James, W. James and G. B. Brock, and by some of the lay brethren present. In the evening a sermon was preached by the Rev. W. James, being an exposition of Unitarianism adapted to the removal of erring conceptions of its nature and tendency. On the following Sunday, the Rev. T. Madge again preached in the morning, and the Rev. W. James delivered a lecture in the evening, before a crowded and attentive congregation, on "the views of the atonement entertained by Christian believers."

Ordination at Stourbridge.

We recently (C. R., May 1852) called the attention of our readers to the melancholy bereavement of a useful and a beloved pastor (Rev. Alexander Paterson) which the Presbyterian congregation of this town had sustained. We have now to record the appointment and the entrance on his duties of Rev. A. W. Worthington, B. A., lately of Manchester New College.

Before briefly describing the services which marked the occasion, we may observe that Stourbridge has ever been a noted seat of Protestant Nonconformity. The town and its immediate neighbourhood afforded, in the interval between the Act of Uniformity and the Revolution, a place of refuge and peaceful dwelling to not less than twelve ejected ministers. Previously to 1698, service was chiefly conducted in private residences, and especially at the house of Mr. Philip Foley at Prestwood. In 1698, the chapel was built for Rev. George Flower. The succeeding ministers were, Rev. John Edge (1734), Rev. Benj. Carpenter (1778), Rev. Herbert Jenkins (1796), Rev. James Scott (1807), Rev. Thos. Warren (1817), Rev. Alexander Paterson (1822).

The ordination service, on occasion of the settlement of Mr. Worthington, was originally fixed for the 29th of June, but was unavoidably postponed, and was ultimately held on Tuesday, the 10th of August. This day had been chosen, as that on which the ministers of the district hold their annual meeting at Stourbridge; and the service was accordingly attended by almost

all the Unitarian ministers of the three counties of Worcester, Warwick and Stafford. There were also present many friends from considerable distances; and, though the state of the weather was unpropitious, a congregation, for such an occasion unusually large, assembled in this beautiful chapel to hear the interesting and eloquent discourses of the Revds. J. J. Tayler, J. G. Robberds and S. Bache.

The service commenced shortly after eleven o'clock; and though a violent thunder-storm raged during the greater part of the morning, the earnest and impressive manner of the speakers riveted the attention and interest of all present on the services of the day.

The service was introduced by a hymn, followed by an appropriate prayer, offered by the Rev. J. J. Tayler, who read, as lessons, Isaiah xli. and John xvii.—Mr. Tayler then preached from Col. ii. 6, 7. Taking a rapid survey of the religious principle, innate in the human mind, as shewn in the reliance upon and responsibility to the Deity, whatever form of Deity be acknowledged, and tracing the establishment of Christian churches, in different ages, with varying doctrines and forms of worship, Mr. Tayler skilfully exhibited, in all these different circumstances, the uniform test of faith as proven by devotion to one God, and obedience to His commands. As each one has received Christ Jesus the Lord, so, and so only, can he faithfully and purely walk in him. He must be guided by the light vouchsafed to him, and is only required to obey it as it is exhibited to his own mind and conscience. Nor is this permissive only. It is imperative. No man can ever see Christ with another's eyes, nor can he be a follower of Christ, however loudly he may declare himself such, unless he really and sincerely walk in him, is rooted and built up in him, imitating his piety, his temperance, his benevolence. A Christian in doctrine must be one in practice also: that alone is true faith: not necessarily entire belief in texts and passages of Scripture, but a full assurance in the Lord Jesus, that he was the sent of God, divinely commissioned to save man from the thraldom of vice, and reveal to him a future world and a judgment to come; such assurance being exemplified in perfect submission to the will of God and the precepts of Christ; walking in him; established in the faith, as each one has been taught, and abounding with thanksgiving to God and goodwill to man.

Mr. Harrison then read the invitation from the congregation to Mr. Worthington, who made a suitable reply, and was addressed by the Rev. J. G. Robberds in the charge. Mr. Robberds disclaimed any priestly authority over his young friend; but as one who had long been his pastor, and had also, in some degree, directed his studies, he ventured to tender him friendly counsel;—counsel not inappropriate also for the notice of the congregation, who had proved themselves not altogether unprepared to fulfil their peculiar duties. And, first, he would state his view of the office of a Christian minister. Admitting the great importance of the ministrations of the pulpit, yet they comprised a small portion of the duties of a minister. He should be the friend, as well as the pastor, of his people. His judgment should guide, his kindness control, his zeal inspire their lives and characters. To the young he will direct his especial attention, to mould their characters in the plastic period of youth, to warn them with his friendly counsel. Secondly: Guided by these views of the minister's office, his discourses in the pulpit should be framed so as best to carry them out. Actuated by no unworthy love of fame, no desire for popularity, the Christian minister will adapt his discourses so as to influence and guide the lives of his hearers. Thirdly: Such being his aim, with no selfish purpose, but striving for the eternal welfare of his flock, he will seek out other means to secure his object: Sunday-schools, classes for the younger branches of families and for young men, will engage his attention; Mechanics' Institutions and other associations for the improvement of the people will secure a portion of his time. Above all, by constant social and friendly intercourse with the members of his congregation in their homes, he will most effectually fulfil his mission,—softening affliction, moderating prosperity, strengthening the bonds of concord, and reconciling where reconciliation may be required,—building up the temple of Christ in social harmony as well as public devotion. Fourthly: Aided and supported as every minister must be by the affection and co-operation of his congregation, by their kindness, and often by their advice, or, if need be, their remonstrance, yet his chief reliance will ever be upon the all-wise Disposer of events,—en-

tirely submissive to His will and earnest in the promotion of his kingdom. No dependence upon man must interfere with an unwavering determination to act only for the glory of God. This will be his support under every difficulty and disappointment; and if his sanguine hopes be defeated, and the good that he sought be not found, he may still rely upon God, and feel assured that the seed which he has sown shall yet flourish and bear fruit, though it may be after many days.

After another hymn, the Rev. S. Bache addressed a powerful and stirring appeal to the congregation, reminding them of their participation in the ministerial office, depicting to them the anxiety of a faithful pastor, his varied studies, his constant devotion to their good, and his renunciation of worldly profit and honour to minister to them in sacred things. All his cares may be relieved by the zeal and co-operation of his people, or will be sadly heightened by their negligence and disregard. Nor should a minister's mind be distracted by the cravings of poverty, or evil forebodings for the comfort of his family. For true is it, that in many instances our ministers receive for their services little more than the wages of a mechanic; yet they are expected to fill the station of polished life, and to pass their days in the study requisite for the fit performance of their various duties. So inadequate a return for the devotion of a life to the welfare of others, is ever to be lamented, often seriously condemned. Nor can that congregation boast the proper Christian spirit who do not exert themselves to secure from the cares and anxieties of poverty the family of their faithful minister. Yet pecuniary aid is only a portion of the return due from a people: candour, friendly aid, support in his various undertakings, and, above all, serious regard to his teachings and admonitions, mark an enlightened and Christian congregation. May such a union of heart and mind long continue between this society and their youthful pastor!—The service closed with a hymn and prayer by the Rev. S. Bache.

At the conclusion of the services, a meeting of the ministers of the district was held in the vestry, at which we understand that an address to Mr F. Russell was adopted, and signed by all present, to the number of sixteen, requesting him to carry out his plan for the establishment of a Society for the assistance of aged ministers and their families.

The proceedings of the day concluded with a dinner, held in the assembly-room at the Talbot inn, under the presidency of R. Scott and H. K. Harrison, Esqrs., at which nearly eighty gentlemen were present. In addition to the ministers who had taken part in the service, and those of the neighbourhood, we noticed among the company, Messrs. B. Pargeter, C. Evers Swindells, Akroyd, Walker, Birch, &c., of Stourbridge; F. J. Lee, T. Y. Lee, J. Williams, B. Williams, of Kinfare; S. H. Blackwell, of Dudley; Osler, Martin, Hornblower, of Birmingham; C. Twamley, of London; Thomas and J. Worthington, of Manchester, &c.

During the proceedings, an affecting tribute was paid to the Rev. Alexander Paterson, and a kind welcome offered to those who had recently settled in the neighbourhood, viz., the Rev. C. Clarke, of Birmingham; the Rev. — Myers, of Walsall; and the Rev. A. W. Worthington, of Stourbridge. Not less interesting, as shewing the catholic spirit prevalent in the town, was a letter read from the Rev. J. Richards, the Independent minister, whose presence we noticed in the chapel, apologizing for his unavoidable absence from the meeting.

After many interesting addresses, as well from laymen as from ministers, the proceedings closed about seven o'clock. The spirited manner in which they were conducted, the deep interest evidently taken by the hearers in the services of the morning, as well as the large attendance (of 400 persons) at the annual tea-meeting of the congregation in the Town-hall the preceding evening, indicate the zeal and devotion of its members, and prove its present prosperous condition.

Services in the School-room at Cleator Mill.

1852. July 25, the Rev. R. Brook Aspland, A.M., Dukinfield—Morning: Compensatory Character of God's Providence (Ecclesiastes vii. 14). Afternoon: Continued.

Aug. 29, Rev. Franklin Baker, A.M., Bolton.—Morning: On Devotion (Psalm xcv. 6). Afternoon: Continued.

Sept. 26, Rev. Dr. Beard, Manchester.—Morning: The Authority of Christ (Matt. vii. 28, 29). Afternoon: The Gospel--Tests thereof (1 Cor. xv. 1).

Oct. 31, Rev. Franklin Howorth, Bury.—Morning: The State of the Heart the Test of Character (Prov. xxiii. 7). Afternoon: Self-Reliance (Matt. xxv. 29).

Nov. 28, Rev. Charles Beard, Hyde.—Morning: The Abidingness of Faith, Hope and Charity (1 Cor. xiii. 13). Afternoon: The Lessons of a Sick-bed (Psalm iv. 4).

Dec. 26, Rev. Henry Green, A.M., Knutsford.—Morning: Christ's Teaching and Example, the Standards of the Christian Faith and Life (John x. 27). Sacrament. Afternoon: What Christ teaches respecting God and Religious Worship (John iv. 24).

1853. Jan. 30, Rev. John Wright, B.A., Macclesfield.—Morning: God our Father (Matt. vi. 9). Afternoon: Human Nature (Psalm viii. 3—5).

Feb. 27, Rev. G. Vance Smith, B.A., Manchester.—Morning: The Fool hath said in his heart, There is no God (Psalm xiv. 1). Afternoon: The Book of Job—its Doctrines and Examples (Job xxvi. 14).

March 27, Rev. J. Martineau, Liverpool.—Morning--Afternoon: Easter Sunday.

April 24, Rev. John James Tayler, B.A., Manchester.—Morning: Self-surrender to God, a Redemption from Sin (Psalm lxix. 18). Afternoon: Hopefulness the Spring of Christian Energy (Ephes. vi. 10).

May 29, Rev. J. Hamilton Thom, Liverpool.—Morning: Peace in God (Isaiah xxvi. 3). Afternoon: The Difficulties of Christian Brotherhood (Malachi ii. 10).

June 26, Rev. J. Ashton, Preston.—Morning: In every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him (Acts x. 34, 35). Afternoon: The Christian Salvation how, and in what dependence, to be wrought out (Phil. ii. 12, 13).

Manchester Free Library.

The completion and approaching public opening of the Free Library in Manchester is an event of far more than local importance, and deserves the respectful attention of every one who loves literature and who desires the improvement of his race. The first steps in this matter were taken during the Mayoralty, in 1850, of Sir John Potter. To him the honour of this noble undertaking chiefly belongs. He began the subscription with a handsome sum, and with persevering energy canvassed the public for assistance, and, notwithstanding many unforeseen difficulties, has gone on until every obstacle is set aside, and his fellow-townsmen are put into possession of a large and well-selected Library, deposited and carefully arranged in a handsome building, the fee-simple of which belongs for ever to the town. The whole undertaking was so munificent in conception and execution, that it is entitled at our hands to a detailed record.

The object contemplated by Sir John Potter and the benevolent and patriotic men who have co-operated with him was to provide increased facilities for intellectual cultivation amongst all classes of the community in Manchester, and especially to promote the education and self-culture of the artizans and workpeople employed in the various industrial establishments of the town and of the poorer classes generally. With these objects a public subscription was set on foot in the autumn of 1850, and a sum of £4319 was subscribed by 79 individuals and firms. A further contribution of £2000 was made by the overseers of the township of Manchester. A capacious and suitable building (centrally situated as regards both Manchester and Salford), built a few years ago by the working people and called the Hall of Science, was then purchased for £1200 by Sir John Potter, who immediately placed himself in communication with Sir Oswald Mosley (the owner of a chief rent on this building of £91. 16*s.* 6*d.*), and he, to shew his appreciation and approval of the object, most liberally consented to sell the freehold at ten years' purchase. Its actual cost, therefore, was £913. In January 1851, a public meeting was held in the Hall itself, at which the Mayor presided. He was supported by the Bishop and Dean of Manchester, Rev. J. G. Robberds, Rev. W. Huntington, Rev. J. J. Tayler, Rev. Dr. Beard, Mr. J. A. Turner, Mr. Brotherton, M. P., Mr. Bazley, and many other gentlemen of high station. At this meeting the steps taken by Sir John Potter were gratefully approved and confirmed, and an efficient Committee was appointed to canvass for further subscriptions and to organize the institution.

The appeal made by the Committee was zealously supported by all the local newspapers, and noticed and commended by other literary and political jour-

nals. Subscriptions poured in, not merely from the capitalists, but also from the working men of Manchester, 20,000 of whom contributed the sum of £800. The expenditure, both in fitting up the Hall in Camp Field and in purchasing books, greatly exceeded the original estimate, which was set down at £7000. The cost has exceeded £12,000, and it is greatly to the honour of the town that this large sum has been raised. The principal contributors, when informed that further help was required, came forward with their offerings a second time.

With respect to the Lending Library, the remarks made by Sir John Potter at the public meeting are important. "The whole scheme is to some extent an experiment, but the circulating part of it is entirely an experiment in England at present. I cannot believe, myself, that any public library can meet the claims upon it,—can be productive of its full usefulness, unless parties are not only able themselves to obtain information within its walls, but have also the opportunity of taking those books of interest and entertainment and amusement which they can consult here, and reading them amongst their families. The experience of France and Belgium has already distinctly proved that public lending libraries are of immense advantage, and that they are not abused by the population in France and Belgium; that a very large number of works circulate in both those countries; that there is a circulating department in most of the large public libraries; and that the books receive uncommonly little damage. Now I believe I am fully justified in this statement by the evidence of M. Guizot, M. Van de Weyer, &c., given before the House of Commons. Public institutions for the education and refinement of the people have not been so open in England as they have been abroad; but I think no one can have lived, particularly in this community, during the last twenty years, without feeling perfectly certain that a very great and most important change has taken place amongst our working classes; that they will appreciate any effort that is made for their advantage, and that they will not abuse either works of art or of literature which may be placed at their disposal for a certain time, and for their free use. I can see no reason why we may not expect that they will be as anxious to preserve those valuable works which may be entrusted to them, as the population either of France or Belgium; and I think, at any rate, that it is time we made the experiment."

The Reference Library is to be freely open to all readers who may present themselves; the Lending Library will be open to all applicants who shall produce a voucher from two ratepayers whose names appear on the burgess roll of either Manchester or Salford.

We confidently anticipate great advantages from this first attempt to establish an extensive gratuitous circulation of books amongst the working classes of Manchester. The use and enjoyment of good books will be extended to the entire periods of leisure which persons may be able to command at their own homes, instead of being confined to the necessarily restricted hours of access to a public institution; and thus, also, the means of attaining sound and useful knowledge will be afforded not only to individuals but to families.

In compliance with the provisions of the Act of Parliament (13 and 14 Vict. c. 65) known as the *Public Libraries Act*, a public poll of the ratepayers of Manchester has been taken, and by an overwhelming majority they have declared their acceptance of the noble gift of Sir John Potter and his colleagues, and their willingness to provide by a public rate (which according to the Act must not exceed in any one year one halfpenny in the pound on the annual value of the rated property in the borough) for the future maintenance of the institution. The Act requires that two-thirds of the votes given shall be in favour of the adoption of the Library. The number of votes recorded in favour of the Library was 3962—*against it*, 40! The Town Council have already sanctioned the plan, and will now proceed to take possession of the building and its contents. A public ceremonial is in contemplation on the formal opening of the Library to the public, on an early day in September. The Mayoralties of Sir John Potter were distinguished by a munificent and impartial hospitality. His public services were acknowledged by the Queen, who on her visit to Manchester in November last bestowed upon him the honour of Knighthood. By his labours in founding the Free Library, he has conferred a lasting benefit on the town, and has acquired his highest title to public respect and honour. We trust

that the press will be enabled to record the successful working of the institution, and that the example set by Manchester will be followed by every considerable town in the kingdom.

North-of-England Unitarian Christian Association.

The seventh annual meeting was held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, on Sunday and Monday, July 25 and 26. Friends assembled from Alnwick, Chirton, Eighton-Banks, Felling, Malton, Durham, St. Peter's Quay, North and South Shields, Scotswood, Sunderland, Stockton-on-Tees, Whitby, &c. The Rev. Hugh Hutton, M. A., of London, Home Agent and Missionary of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, who has been devoting several weeks to the churches in this district, preached the sermons in Hanover-square chapel, on the Sunday. They were earnest, eloquent and scriptural expositions of the faith and practice of Unitarian Christianity, and could not fail of producing favourable impressions on the most adverse minds in behalf of the truths advocated.

On Monday afternoon, about 200 members and friends of the Association met together in the Victoria Hall, Gray Street,—the Rev. George Harris, Chairman, T. M. Greenhow, Esq., Vice-president. The hall and tables were beautifully decorated with a profusion of flowers, and the comfort of the company sedulously ministered to by twenty-four stewards, young men of the Newcastle congregation. Prayer was offered before tea, and a hymn of thanksgiving joined in afterwards. The Chairman opened the proceedings by reading the reports of the Committee and Treasurer. Both were satisfactory. An adverse balance of £53, had been reduced to £15. Aid had been received from Fellowship Funds of Leicester and New meeting, Birmingham. Missionary labours had been kept up at Alnwick, Sunderland, Felling, St. Peter's Quay and Eighton-Banks. Mr. Spears, of Scotswood, formerly of the Methodist New Connection, had devoted every Sunday to the work, besides occasional week-evenings. Mr. Harris, almost every Sunday afternoon throughout the year, in addition to his stated services at Hanover Square, engages also in week-night lectures at various places. Other friends, members of the Newcastle and Sunderland congregations, had likewise given occasional aid. At St. Peter's Quay, the Sunday and week-night school had been attended by a hundred children; Sunderland Sunday-school, opened in February, had already sixty-four pupils; Eighton-Banks, begun in January, fifty. The attendance on the Sunday worship, in all the places, increasing. Alnwick, with its meritorious labourer, Mr. Stott, presented urgent claims to support, and should have it. The mortgage on the chapel had been called in through death of the party, and the efforts of the few and faithful resident friends to raise the required amount should be promptly aided. At Sunderland, good hope for the future, more especially from the accession of Mr. Stephen, formerly Calvinistic Baptist preacher, now taking part with Mr. Spears in occupancy of the pulpit, as also aiding his efforts elsewhere. Plans of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association in appointment of a Missionary highly approved, and the labours of Mr. Hutton warmly acknowledged.

The Rev. John Nayler, of Malton, moved the adoption and printing of the report, in some very interesting remarks, and was seconded by Mr. W. Clephan, of Stockton-on-Tees. Resolution of welcome, and thankfulness for services, of Rev. Hugh Hutton, was moved by T. M. Greenhow, Esq., and seconded by Mr. R. Wallace, and very cordially adopted by the meeting, the Chairman expressing his heartful concurrence in conveying it. Mr. Hutton gave excellent reply, detailing personal experience of the value and efficacy of the principles of the faith in Christ so dear to their hearts, to cheer in life and console in death.—Dr. Hayle delineated powerfully and beautifully the distinctive principles of the religion of Christ.—Mr. Spears and Mr. Stephen gave expression to the course by which serious scriptural inquiry led them to the adoption of the religious convictions in which they now rejoiced as Christian truth. — The Rev. M. C. Frankland, of Whitby, spoke with earnestness of the missionary spirit, and in commendation of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. Mr. Hutton, as its Missionary, responded, moving cordial thanks to the Chairman, as Secretary of the North-of-England Association. The Chairman gave the closing sentiment of Christian goodwill to all denominations. Hymn and prayer were then engaged in, and benediction brought to a close this harmonious and truly Christian gathering.

OBITUARY.

July 1, JACOB COOKE, Esq., merchant, Lewes, Sussex. This excellent man has been removed from a sphere of increasing prosperity and usefulness, at the early age of 34 years, to the great loss of his family and the Unitarian congregation, of which he was an active and liberal friend. He has left a reputation for integrity, consistency and enlightened philanthropy, rarely attained at so early a period of life. As a professing Christian, he was pious without pretension, and zealous without bigotry. Following the dictates of conscience, he felt bound to surrender what appeared to him the prejudices of his early education, and to adopt a doctrinal profession at variance with the sentiments of his family. Few understood their principles more thoroughly, or could give a better reason for the hope that was in them, while no one could hold those principles with greater charity or more tolerant forbearance. The truths which he cherished in life proved sufficient to sustain and comfort him on the bed of death. Never were the consolations and hopes of religion more abundantly bestowed and gratefully recognized. The result of an honourable and useful life was a peaceful and happy death. Reviewing with humble satisfaction the exertions he had made to honour God by promoting the welfare of his family and friends, and looking forward to a blessed immortality, he sank to repose with the tranquillity of an infant, bearing another faithful testimony to the value of our faith as a guide through life and a support in death.

July 10, at the house of her son, the Rev. Dr. Harrison, Acre Lane, Brixton, Surrey, in the 66th year of her age, Mrs. SARAH HARRISON, formerly of Manchester. Her loss is severely felt by her husband, who was blessed with a happy union with her of more than forty-three years.

She was an admirable woman, and enjoyed real peace of mind from her firm confidence in the scriptural and cheering views of Unitarian Christianity. Her leading object was to promote the happiness of all within the circle of her acquaintance; and the sincere regard with which her memory is held, has been well testified by the many letters of condolence that her husband and son have received from her attached friends. She was interred, on the 13th of July, in the cemetery at Norwood by the Rev. Benjamin Mardon.

July 17, Mrs. ISABELLA PERCIVAL, the only surviving daughter of the late Rev. Lowthian Pollock, who was forty-one years minister of the old Presbyterian chapel, Macclesfield. He was nephew of the Rev. S. Lowthian, formerly minister at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. A short memoir of Mr. Pollock is inserted in the Obituary department of the Monthly Repository for May, 1821. In the number for January of the same volume, there is also a brief memoir of his eldest daughter, a lady of a strong and vigorous mind, which had been improved by an excellent education. Some time before her death, though she died young, she translated from the French and published a volume, entitled "A Review of French Literature during the Eighteenth Century," which was admired both for the correctness of the translation and the purity of the style. She was cut off by a fever which prevailed much at Macclesfield at that time, and her death, joined to the anxiety her father felt for the recovery of his only other daughter, whose death we are now recording, who was seized with the same dangerous malady, it is to be feared so preyed upon his spirits as to hasten his end. He survived his daughter only three months.

His surviving daughter, who married Mr. Percival, lost her husband early, and was left a widow with one child, a daughter, whose education she superintended with great care, being well qualified for the task, having received along with her sister an accomplished education. This daughter lives to lament the loss of a most excellent mother. The only member of Mr. Pollock's family that now survives is a son, Mr. Thomas Pollock, a druggist, Fenchurch Street, London.

The writer of this brief notice has not had the pleasure of much intercourse with him and his sister for many years, owing to the distance of their residence; but he can never forget the many happy days he formerly spent in company with the members of Mr. Pollock's family, and he gladly embraces this opportunity of recording the great esteem in which he held them, and his high opinion of their worth.

J. B.